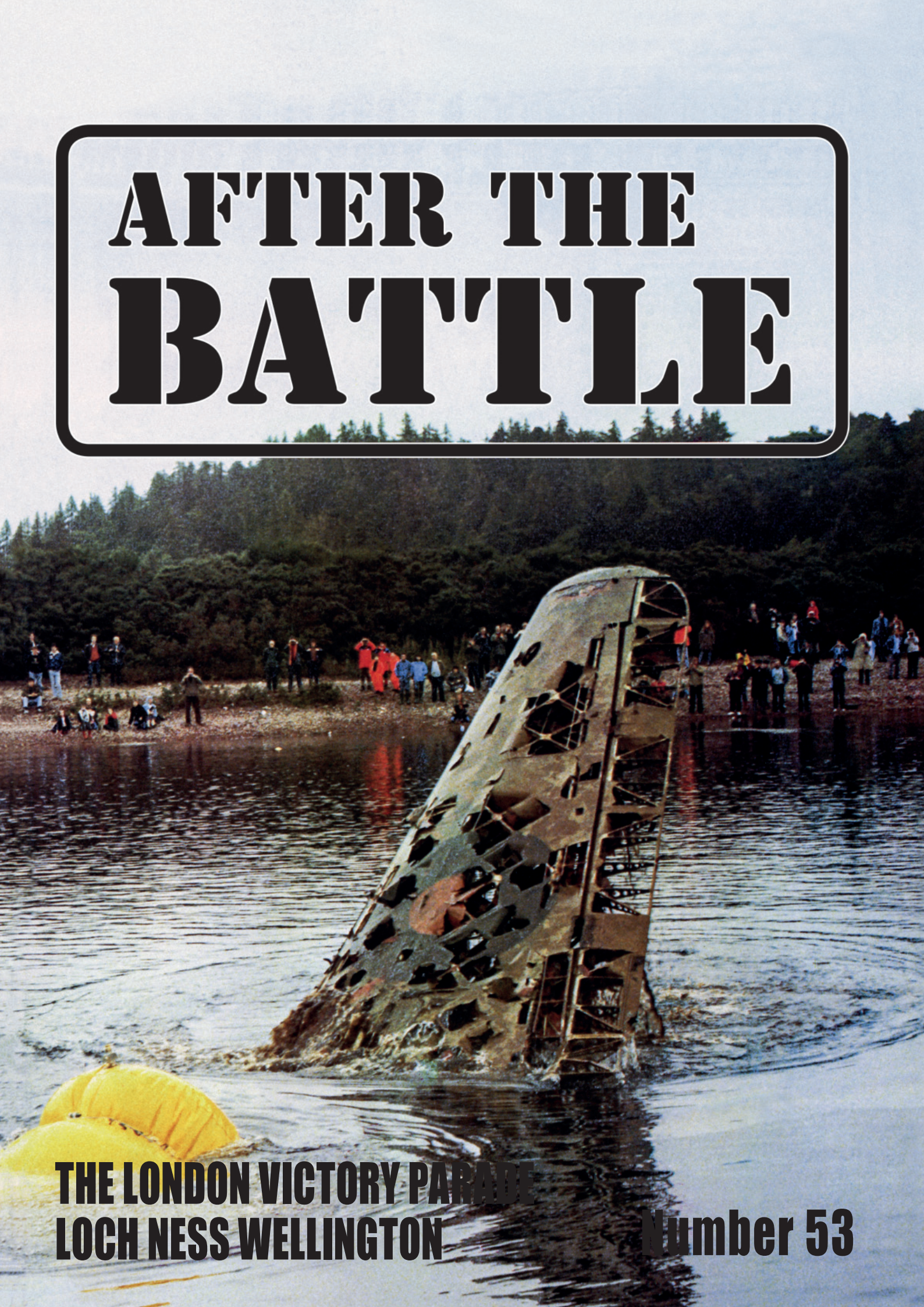
AFTER THE BATTLE



THE LONDON VICTORY PARADE

LOCH NESS WELLINGTON

Number 53

AFTER THE BATTLE

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Front Cover: After a mammoth nine-day operation, Loch Ness yields one of its secrets in September 1985 as a Wellington bomber lost in 1940 is hauled up from the deep. (R. T. Holmes, Heriot-Watt University)

Centre pages: The preserved remains of two of the Japanese midget submarines which attacked shipping in Sydney Harbour in May 1942 and now preserved at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. (John A. Williams)

Back cover: Lonely memorial in Luxembourg where George Mergenthaler fought and died in December 1944.

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CELEBRATING

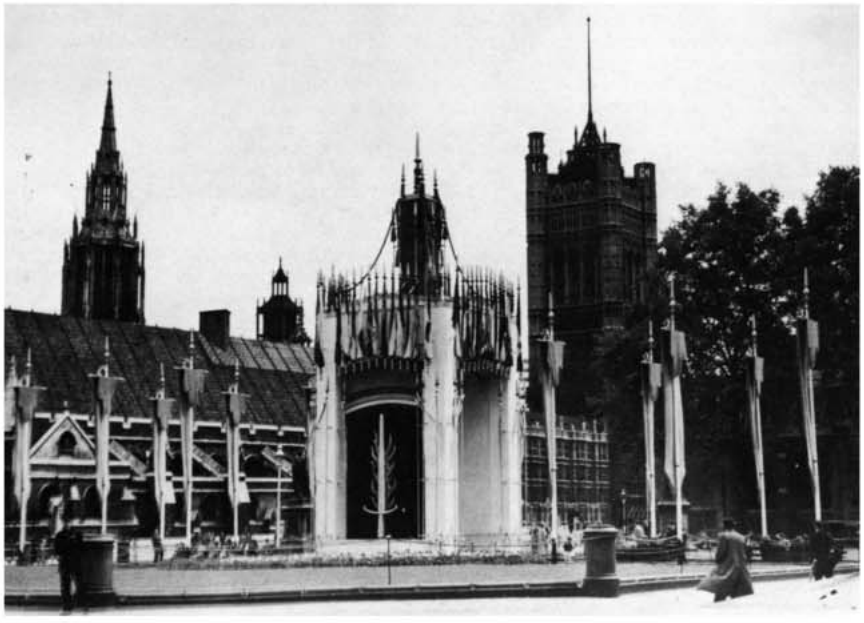
VICTORY

The Victory Parade of 40 years ago by Denis C. Bateman

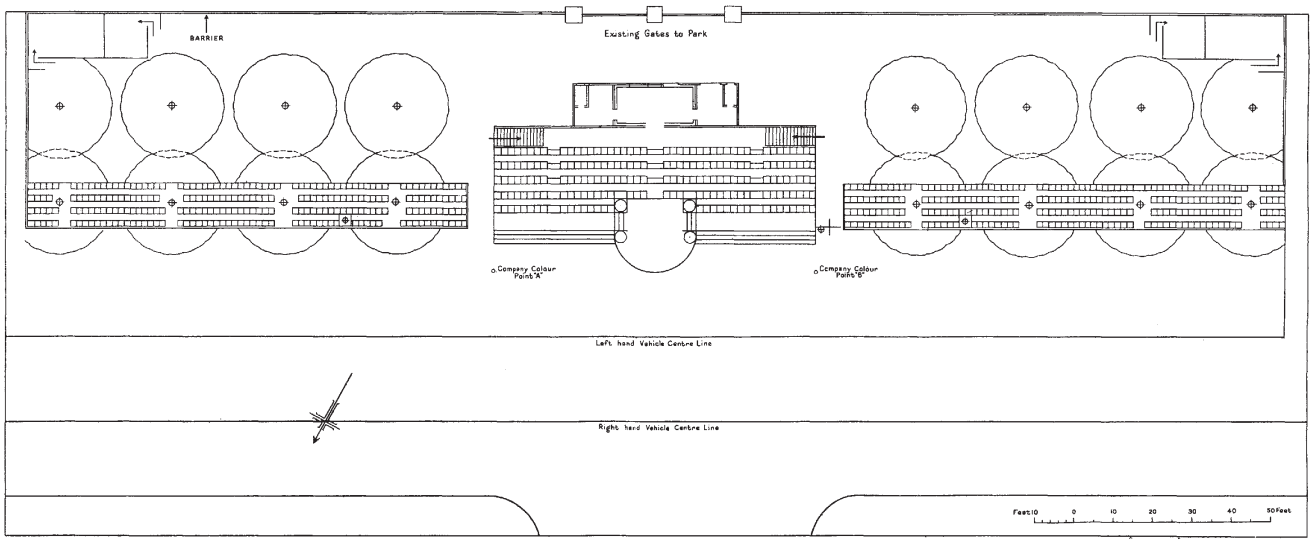
London's ceremonial way — The Mall — begins at Trafalgar Square, passes through Admiralty Arch, and proceeds in a straight line for over half a mile to the Victoria Memorial fronting Buckingham Palace. Sixty-five feet wide, it is flanked on either side by a double row of plane-trees, 25ft apart. For the past eighty-two years this royal thoroughfare has provided the route for very many glittering spectacles, including three Coronation processions, two Jubilees, several royal weddings and at least four royal funerals. However, forty years ago, it was the scene of a parade, much less glamourous than those of the past, but nevertheless as spectacular and as colourful in its own way. This was the Victory March of 1946 when The Mall, although only a part of the main processional route, once more became the focal point of the British Empire.

After the long years of war, the misery, pain and deprivation, the British people were starved of ceremony and colour. In any case, to the man-in-the-street and his long-suffering wife, a Victory Parade, or March, as it was officially called, was the final indication that the war was really over (although the question of who had won was often sarcastically raised).

The decision to hold Victory Celebrations was taken by the Labour Cabinet of Clement Attlee, who had won the post-VE-Day General Election with a landslide victory. This resolution was concluded at a Cabinet meeting on November 1, 1945, and a Sub-Committee under the chairmanship of the Home Secretary, Mr Chuter Ede, was appointed and attended by the Service Ministers to be responsible for the execution



Victory in London. *Top:* **When this picture was taken in June 1946, Admiral Horatio Nelson — acclaimed as Britain's if not the world's greatest naval commander — had surveyed the capital from the top of his 167ft-high column for a hundred years. His victory over the combined Franco-Spanish fleet in October 1805 was not formally marked until 1832 when the name 'Trafalgar Square' was given to this area of London. During the following ten years hundreds of squalid dwellings were swept away to create the Square, and its famous war memorial was unveiled in 1842.** *Above:* **Of a more temporary lifespan was the Victory Arch erected in Parliament Square to commemorate victory in 1946.**


BARRIER
Existing Gates to Park
Company Colour Point 'A'
Company Colour Point 'B'
Left hand Vehicle Centre Line
Right hand Vehicle Centre Line
Feet 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

of the Victory March. In its turn, the Sub-Committee set up an 'Official Committee' to carry out the detailed planning and met several times to consider the reports from that Committee. The Official Committee was chaired by a Home Office representative and its members came from all the interested Departments of State, as well as the Metropolitan Police. It met for the first time on January 22, 1946 and set up three working parties to consider (a) the route and composition of the March; (b) afternoon entertainments for children; (c) Lighting Display on the evening of V-Day. The last-named, under the chairmanship of the Ministry of Works representative, was given (or took) the title of Aquatic Display Working Party and its members came from various organisations including the Port of London Authority, London County Council (predecessor of the Greater London Council), the Lord Great Chamberlain, the BBC and Brock & Company, the firework manufacturers. To add to the profusion of committees the Aquatic Display Technical Sub-Committee was formed 'to examine in detail the production of the Firework and Aquatic Display.'

Decorations were the responsibility of the Ministry of Works but the shortage of materials and labour prevented an elaborate decorative scheme. It was therefore decided that a restricted area between Parliament Square and the Queen's Gardens, by the Victoria Memorial, would be decorated and the occupants of other public buildings would be permitted to adorn their own structures although without any special assistance.

In Parliament Square a 'special feature' was erected comprising a 'Victory Arch' in the centre of St Stephen's Green. This incorporated the 'Flaming Sword' device of SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force) and the flags of the United Nations. Patriotic-coloured flower beds of red, white and blue adorned the lawn on either side of the Arch and the pathway across the Green was flanked by twelve 20ft poles carrying decorative banners. The whole was floodlit at night with special lighting effects on the symbols on the north and south sides.

For Parliament Street and Whitehall large flags on the public buildings formed the main decoration and as far as possible each flag was chosen to represent the service with which the building was principally connected. Other colourful items were the window boxes which were considered to be so effective that the Minister of Works instructed that they should remain. In some of the buildings however, the occupants objected to the boxes claiming that they blocked the view so these were removed. Four 30ft masts carrying banners were also placed at the entrance to Horse Guards Parade, while the flags on the Cenotaph were renewed.

In Trafalgar Square, the National Gallery and Admiralty Arch were decorated with flags and banners; twenty-two other banners were hung from masts erected behind the baluster railing at the north end of the Square. Nelson's Column was bedecked with six lines of flags supplied by the Admiralty and strung between the Column and two bollards erected in the Square; a pelmet with groups of White Ensigns arranged around the base of the Column completed its embellishments.

The main pumping machinery of the two fountains had been dismantled during the war so emergency pumps were housed in what was left of the air raid shelters on the north side of the Square; these were used to supply water to the fountains which were floodlit at night.

The Mall was the site of 103 flag-poles equally spaced on either side of the processional route. These were 50ft high and of a 'decorative design' and 'from them were flown large flags of the Empire and of the fighting Allies'. The Union Flag, Service flags, and the flags of the Dominions, were repeated, while those of most of the other countries were flown once. At either end of The Mall, starting at Admiralty Arch, flew first, the Union Flags, then those of the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force, then the Blue and Red Ensigns, followed by those of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, the National Fire Service and Civil Defence. Then the flags of the Dominions and India, commencing with New Zealand and South Africa; however, before those of the Colonies in alphabetical order, came Alderney, the Isle of Man, Jersey and Guernsey. The Dominions and Indian flags were repeated as the Saluting Base was approached, on either side of which were Union Flags. Two other flags were repeated — those of the USA and USSR — at the beginning and end of the Allied section of The Mall, between St James's Palace and the London Museum

The Saluting Base was located mid-way along The Mall in front of the gates to St James's Park.

The RAF wanted to mount a static display of aircraft and, according to the Ministry of Works' report, 'the Minister reluctantly agreed that it could take place in Green Park'. The reason for his lack of enthusiasm is not recorded but an area in the north-eastern corner was allocated for the exhibition.

(Lancaster House), at the corner of The Mall and Cleveland Row. Each of the flag-poles had special anchorages made in the verge adjoining the curb and these were marked and left in position 'for future use'. (Presumably they are still the same ones in use on ceremonial occasions today.)

Positioned in The Mall was the Saluting Base (also officially referred to as Saluting Point) sited directly opposite Marlborough Gate. At the 1919 Victory Parade the Saluting Base had been on the Victoria Memorial and for the 1946 March it was initially proposed that it should be in the central gateway of Buckingham Palace. However, the War Office declared that it required 'a straight route past the Saluting Base' in order that the troops could 'eyes right', and requested that it be sited at Marlborough Gate on the north side of The Mall. When it was proved by photographs that the troops gave 'eyes left' to the monarch in 1919 the War Office accepted the better position on the south side.

The King had desired that the Dais on which he would stand to take the Salute 'should be prominent' so that the marching columns could easily distinguish his position, and the Saluting Base was designed to meet his requirements. As well as the Royal Family, 203 guests were to be accommodated in the Stand at the rear of which were provided retiring rooms for the King and Queen, as well as lavatory accommodation below the Stand. A first aid room and a store for 'special stand chairs' were also down below.

The Saluting Base was painted light yellow with a sky blue velorium, the seating consisting of white wood chairs with the seats covered in royal blue cloth. Those of the Royal Family; the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada and South Africa and the representative of the Prime Minister of Australia; Mr Churchill; the Home Secretary and the Secretary to the Cabinet, as well as the wartime British Service chiefs, were of yellow tubular steel with red leather seats and armrests. The Dais was red-carpeted and a red velvet apron hung in front of it, while flowers completed the decoration. It had been the original intention to seat the Prime Ministers and the wartime British Service chiefs on the Dais but it was decided that their positions would not be prominent enough to be seen by the marching troops. They were therefore seated in front of the Stand on a low step; the other guests were seated in six tiers. Above the Dais was a large plaster model of the Royal Arms, and six light flag-poles, hung with light blue banners embroidered in gold with the national plants of the United Kingdom, the Dominions and India, were erected above the Saluting Base.

On either side of the Saluting Base was an enclosure with seating for 500. Here the chairs (ordinary park chairs) were in four rows as it was not possible to raise the rear seats. Attempts to organise and number the chairs the day before the Parade were made difficult by the vast crowds already in The Mall. Trouble was experienced during the night when many people broke into the enclosures and not only disarranged the chairs but in several cases took them away. Each enclosure was covered by an awning on a steel scaffolding framework and surrounded by a 7ft wire mesh fence also supported by steel scaffolding with a green canvas covering. Unfortunately, some of the crowd congregated behind the enclosures

To a certain extent, the fact that a Wellington was on display made up for its absence in the Flypast, as did the Tiger Moth, for Flying Training Command aircraft were notably absent from the 306-strong aerial armada which crossed London just as the Royal Air Force marching contingent reached the Saluting Base in The Mall.

After the gloom of the wartime black-out, the floodlighting and illuminations by searchlights brought a welcome relief even though the lights were only on between 10.00 p.m. and midnight from June 8 to June 16.

and in places tore down the canvas covering or climbed shrubs and trees to get a better view of the proceedings. The enclosures' two lavatories were erected too close to the fence and their roofs provided excellent grandstands. The police available at these points were in insufficient numbers to control the activities of the crowd.

On the opposite side of The Mall, at the corner of Marlborough Gate, a Diplomats' enclosure for 200 people was raised. This was a late addition and was separated from the public by a chestnut paling fence. It was feared that this would be inadequate and these fears were realised when some elements of the crowd invaded the enclosure.

There were several other reserved enclosures on the main route of the March: at Carlton House Terrace in The Mall, where accommodation for almost 1,300 was provided; on the south side of Constitution Hill (1,799 seated and standing, including some disabled ex-Servicemen). Badly disabled ex-Servicemen in wheelchairs were given positions on the Buckingham Palace corner of Constitution Hill while members of the Royal Household assembled in the forecourt of the Palace. The Victoria Memorial was the site of some 3,000 places and here also there was some disruption with members of the public invading the reserved spaces in spite of police presence. Both sides of the Memorial were used to furnish stands for the Press. At Hyde Park Corner and Marble Arch the traffic islands were given over to ex-Servicemen's organisations through the good offices of the British Legion. Members and officials of both Houses of Parliament occupied the pavements surrounding New Palace Yard, and St Margaret's Green, within the railings of the church of the same name, was taken up by the staff and boys of Westminster School. The flat roof of Richmond Terrace off Whitehall, although reserved for the Press and newsreel cameras, was also used by a few 'selected persons'.

The foregoing arrangements were the responsibility of the Ministry of Works and the delicate but essential subject of lavatories was also under its control. These were located in St James's Park (360 for 50,000 people); Green Park (150 for 20,000); and Hyde Park (680 for 100,000). No public lavatories were placed on the north side of The Mall because of the difficulty of screening them from Carlton House Terrace and the garden walls of St James's Palace and Marlborough House; however, one or two small toilets were sited there solely for the use of troops. All lavatories remained open from 6.00 a.m. on June 8 until 9.00 a.m. on June 9 and from then, on a reducing time scale, until June 15. On the day of the Parade all toilets were free. Motor tank cleaners on a special contract were responsible for the cleansing.

Refreshment facilities and first aid posts were sited in several places, although the food contractor reported that his task was made 'almost impossible' by the restrictions imposed by the Ministry of Food. Eleven marquees were erected in the central parks: four each in Green and Hyde Parks, two in St James's and one in Regents Park. The Controller of Supplies at the Ministry of Works provided the marquees, tables, counters and wastebins, and the Engineers Department installed solid fuel boiling pans. As usual, the police had their own refreshment tents. First aid posts were manned by members of the St John Ambulance Brigade. Ambulance stations were situated at the rear of the Saluting Base, in Green Park and Hyde Park.

Rationing was still very much in force in the United Kingdom and included fuel and lighting. Floodlighting was therefore restricted to between 10.00 p.m. and midnight from June 8 to June 16. Floodlit public buildings included Buckingham and St James's Palaces, Admiralty Arch, Nelson's Statue and Column and St Paul's, as well as many others. Outside central London, Hampton Court and the Royal Observatory were two of several floodlit public buildings.

Stand stewards were recruited from certain government departments including the Service ministries, the Chief Steward coming from the Ministry of Works, although the 'chief steward' for the Saluting Base was provided by the Home Office. Among the stewards here was the Secretary of the Government Hospitality Fund. Forty-six stewards manned the adjacent enclosures, with a member of the Foreign Office present wherever foreign diplomats were seated. Stewards were distinguished by red and gilt badges, while Service officers acting as Marshals wore brassards. Each steward was allowed a seat for one guest at Carlton House Terrace.

Special parking arrangements were in force on V-Day and the guests on the Saluting Base were able to be driven along The Mall to their places, their cars were then parked in Pall Mall. After the Parade the cars returned to collect their owners, the police having installed a microphone and loudspeakers at the Pall Mall end of Marlborough Gate enabling them to announce the guests' names as the cars approached. The cars of the guests in the enclosures next to the Saluting Base were also allowed into The Mall, but having dropped their occupants were then routed to Wellington Barracks. These were not allowed back into The Mall and the guests had to make their way to the Barracks through the mud and dampness of St James's Park. Special cars parked in Friary Court, St James's Palace enabled the Prime Ministers and Chiefs of Staff and their wives to get away as soon as the Royal Family had left. Coaches were used to convey some of the seriously disabled to their seats in Constitution Hill and these were allowed to stay in Green Park.

The Press was provided with a stand at the north-west corner of Marlborough Gate which also had facilities for the BBC, including sound-proof boxes for the commentators. Twenty-two ciné and television cameras were positioned there, as well as 250 seats for

LAMBETH BRIDGE HOUSE,
LONDON, S.E.1.

VICTORY CELEBRATIONS

The Minister of Works presents his compliments to
and has pleasure in inviting to attend at the Saluting Base in St. James's Park to witness the Victory March at 10.15 a.m. on Saturday, June 8th, 1946.

In the event of acceptance the necessary ticket(s) will be forwarded to you.

May, 1946.

R.S.V.P. before May 15th to
The Private Secretary,
Ministry of Works,
Lambeth Bridge House,
S.E.1.

It is amazing to discover from the Ministry of Works report that one of the main architects of the Allied victory, Winston Churchill, was only allowed two seats for his guests in the viewing stand at the Saluting Base! (Prime Minister Clement Attlee had five.)

the pressmen. At the rear of the stand were telephone boxes and ten movie camera vans and television vehicles. Press photographers were also placed along the main route, including the top of the 124ft-high Duke of York's Column.

As V-Day approached the police informed the Ministry of Works that because 'exceptionally large crowds' were anticipated, 12ft high barriers with gates would have to be erected where some forty side streets met the processional way completely shutting off access to the route. In the event they prevented hundreds of people seeing anything of the procession. Small crush barriers were also positioned at pavement edges to help control the crowds.

On Thursday evening, June 6, 1946, the first arrivals began to pick their places and settle down in The Mall for a wait of some thirty-six hours or more. For them and the thousands who would later join them, this was the precursor of something they had waited to celebrate for almost seven long, weary, and in many cases, heartbreaking, years. On this day, two years before, the great Allied Armada had sailed for the Normandy coast, and at Ranville and Caen the landings were being commemorated. In the House of Commons the Prime Minister announced that two new medals had been instituted by the King: they were the War Medal and the India General Service Medal. In Buenos Aires, President Peron and his Foreign Minister declared that Argentina had established diplomatic relations with the USSR. In India, on this Thursday, the Chamber of Princes was meeting with British Cabinet Ministers.

Back home, the King and Queen, and the Princesses, were visiting the overseas troops who had arrived in the United Kingdom by sea. Among the several liners used to transport them were the *Mauretania* and the *Orentes*. A series of diversions had been laid on for their enjoyment: tea at the Colonial Office with the Prime Minister; various receptions before and after V-Day; a Government party at Hampton Court, and tours of London. Many of the troops visited Epsom Races on Wednesday, June 5 — a cold, windy and occasionally wet day — to see the grey outsider *Airborne*, ridden by Tommy Lowrey, win the first post-war Derby at 50-1! The weather during this time was most unseasonable and many of the troops had to be issued with nine blankets in order to stay warm in bed! However, the weather did not stop the band of the King's African Rifles from travelling to Edinburgh for a marching display and concert. Wearing their distinctive red tarbush head-dresses complete with tassels, and khaki drill uniforms, they impressed a large crowd with their smartness, drill and musical ability.

To accommodate the large numbers of Servicemen and women camps had been set up in and around London. At Bushy Park at Teddington were 1,000 members of the Women's Services; 250 men and 4,000 vehicles were in Regents Park; at Clapham Common the accommodation for 3,500 guardsmen, gunners and airmen included the deep wartime shelters. The largest camp was in Kensington Gardens, spilling over into Hyde Park, where some 20,000 mainly Dominion and Colonial Servicemen and women were billeted. *The Times* described this as 'the greatest international all-services camp . . . ' and during the Royal visit about 3,500 troops paraded for their King while the remainder watched, took photographs, and no doubt, like Servicemen everywhere, criticised the turnout and drill of those on parade. Soon after the visit ended the air was filled with the roar of aircraft engines as the RAF rehearsed its own tribute to the Sovereign and the Empire's capital.

A few days before, on May 28, the fifth meeting of the Committee on Victory Celebrations had deliberated on the hospitality to be extended to the visiting Servicemen and women. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury 'found it difficult to understand why hotel accommodation to be provided for high-ranking Allied officers and other important visitors should be at the rate of £40 per head per week'. He (rather naïvely) asked if it was possible to 'persuade hotel managements to reduce their charges' especially as in several cases the visitors would be absent for meals. It was pointed out to him that accommodation was difficult to find and some hoteliers were not necessarily pleased to have large numbers of official guests thrust upon them.

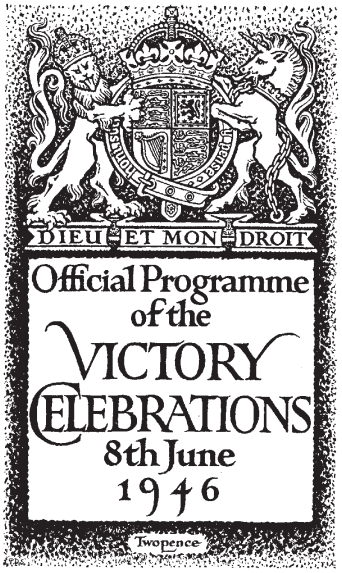
Another financial item discussed was whether five shillings (25p) per head, per day, for six weeks was sufficient for the Dominion and Colonial troops over here. When the Committee was told that this money was for entertainment and did not include accommodation or meals, it agreed that it was enough.

Throughout Friday the crowd grew and spread into Trafalgar Square, Whitehall and Parliament Street. Good-humoured, mainly civilian, many wearing their 'newish' demob suits, it also included Servicemen and women in uniform, one of whom was the author on leave from the Royal Artillery. As *The Times* snootily put it, the crowd was composed of 'fathers and mothers with children, boisterous hobbledehoys . . . the common people of Britain who . . . had secured victory'. Standing, sitting on camp-stools or folding chairs, makeshift bedding, or improvising with sheets of newspaper spread onto the hard curb of the pavement, the multitude bore its discomfort cheerfully. Among the most ingenious — and — comfortable — were some sailors and two Wrens (Women's Royal Naval Service) who had slung hammocks between lamp-posts in The Mall and by 11.00 p.m. were sound asleep! Most of the throng had equipped themselves with Thermos flasks and sandwiches and spent the hours watching the continuous stream of sightseers of seemingly all nationalities strolling up and down the processional route. These 'rubbernecks' were mainly oblivious to the traffic that was still trying to move at little more than a snail's pace. The decorations were the main attraction although, as we have seen, these chiefly consisted of flags and bunting with some flowers added. However, to the colour-starved populace they helped to relieve the monotony of the dull, drab, bomb-scarred streets.

All along the route traders did brisk business in ice-cream (unobtainable in the war years), paper hats and official programmes, price twopence (less than 1p), printed in unimaginative brown ink on cheap white paper.

An event meriting a footnote in *The Times* took place at 3.00 p.m. on Friday. The BBC's television station at Alexandra Palace, which had closed on the outbreak of war, was re-opened by the Postmaster-General, Lord Listowel, who said that the service would shortly be extended to Birmingham. The following day's transmission would open at 10.50 a.m. in time for the few thousand viewers to see the Royal Procession arrive at the Saluting Point. The morning's events would be commentated on by Freddie Grisewood, and Richard Dimbleby, the BBC's 'master of the spoken word'. Soon after midday, before the Marching Column arrived, there would be an eight minute interval and the transmission was due to end at about 1.15 p.m. In the evening television would show crowd scenes at Westminster.

Radio coverage for its millions of listeners all over the world was provided by Wynford Vaughan Thomas, a former BBC war correspondent, at the Saluting Point, and Peter Scott, son of the famous explorer and a future knight *(see After the Battle No. 12)*, in a DUKW with the Mechanised Column. The Parade was, for the most part, broadcast on the Home Service, although the Light Programme was interrupted at intervals for descriptions of the scene. Other Victory Day programmes were: Victor Sylvester and his Orchestra (still remembered for his strict tempo beat) on both stations; a recording of Tommy Handley's 'Itma'; the Skyrockets



The sale of the official programme at 2d — less than 1p in today's money — was entrusted to Boy Scouts who were provided with marquees in the Royal Parks for distribution points. It was hoped that 500,000 programmes would be sold bringing in some £4,500.

Dance Orchestra from the RAF; and, inevitably on a Saturday even then, sport — tennis and cricket. These programmes were on the Home Service; on the Light Programme, which did not open until 9.00 a.m., the offerings were mainly musical, with military and brass bands as well as dance bands, although the popular 'Family Favourites' had a forty-five minute spot.

Saturday, June 8, the start of the Whitsun weekend, had been proclaimed a public holiday. During the early hours some rain fell onto the uncomfortable masses trying, mostly unsuccessfully, to snatch a few hours sleep. But the day dawned dry with a forecast of good weather (however, by lunchtime it was raining again). Soon underground stations near the main processional route were closed because of the pressure of people; at 7.30 a.m. The Mall was also shut except to ticket holders. In Oxford Street and along Victoria Embankment the crowds were packed ten to twelve deep and the high wooden barriers erected just off the route had to be closed.

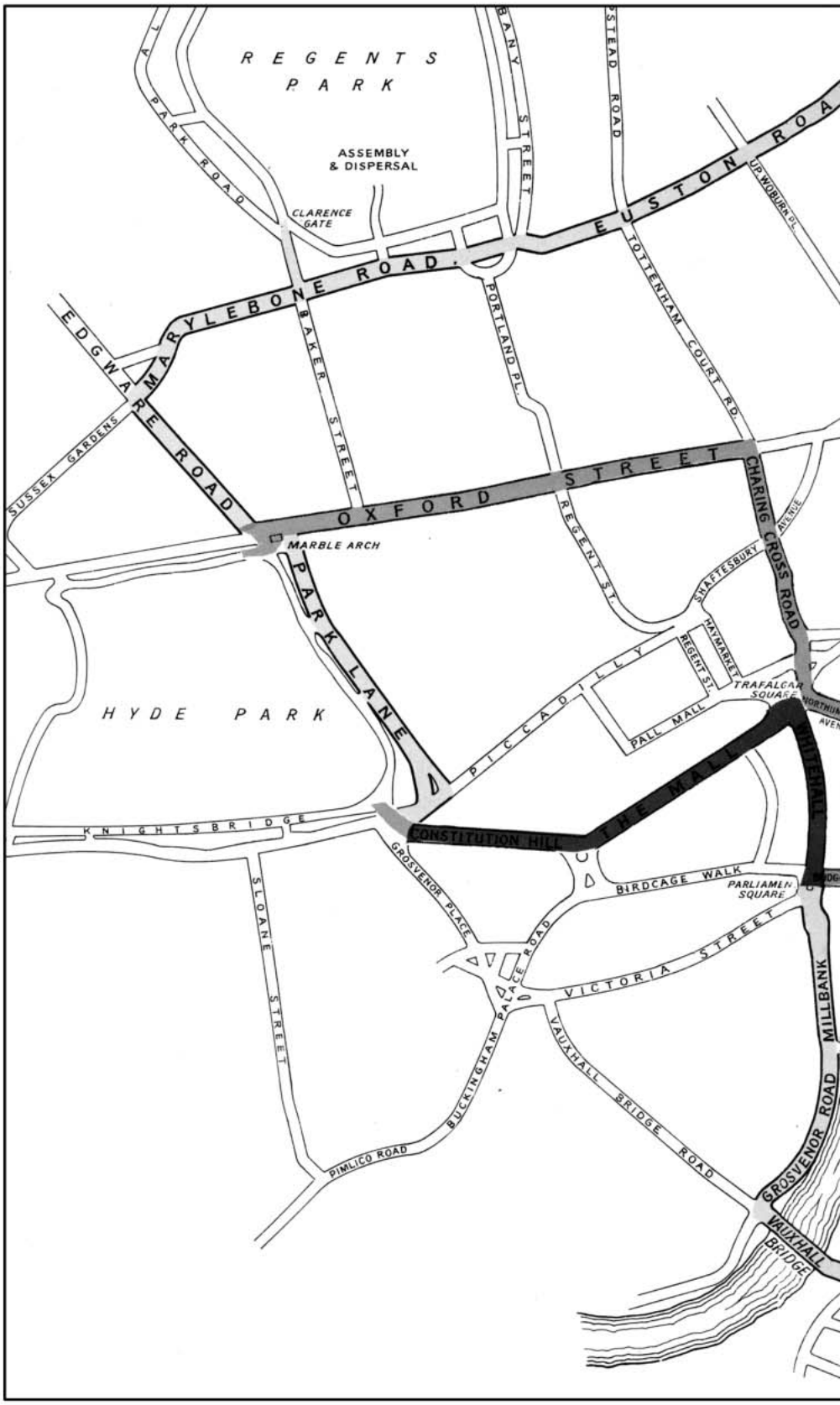
The Victory March took two forms: first, a Mechanised Column of 430 vehicles and 80 motor cycles, led by the 'Victorious Commanders', with a total length of 6,643 yards. This was to be followed by the Marching Column of 2,260 officers and 18,948 other ranks, covering 4,526 yards. Responsible for the Parade, under the orders of the Chiefs of Staff, was Field-Marshal the Viscount Alanbrooke, with General Sir Charles Loyd as his Chief Staff Officer. Lining the route from the junction of Whitehall and Trafalgar Square, along The Mall to just past Buckingham Palace in Constitution Hill, were troops of the Brigade of Guards. Among their many duties the Foot Guards found Marshalling Officers for both Columns; provided camp staff and tent pitchers; supplied Colour Parties and detachments for the March; while the 1st Battalion, Irish Guards furnished a 100-strong Guard of Honour at the Palace. These duties were in addition to the many being performed by Guards battalions overseas from Germany and Austria to the Far East. The Brigade was 'at full stretch' to find the troops for this extra commitment.

The long hours from dawn passed slowly for the patient crowds. For those in The Mall the boredom of waiting was relieved when the street-lining parties appeared headed by bands, with the shouted orders and stamping feet associated with the Foot Guards on parade. The crowd loved it — especially the sight of the drill sergeants twirling their pace sticks as they paced out the guardsmen at precise intervals.

At 10.09 a.m. the Guard of Honour at Buckingham Palace presented arms in a Royal Salute as the King in naval uniform, the Queen in mauve, accompanied by Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret in pale blue, drove in an open State Landau drawn by four Windsor Greys, the postilions wearing Lesser State Dress. In attendance on the Royal carriage was Colonel R. E. S. Gooch, DSO, Commanding Household Cavalry, as Silver Stick in Waiting, and a Captain's Escort of Household Cavalry with Standard under the command of Captain A. R. J. Buchanan Jardine, MC. The two other officers were Lieutenants M. M. G. Naylor Leyland and Lord Burghersh. The Escort was wearing khaki service dress with scarlet-banded blue SD caps, and equipped with swords. All were mounted on black horses with the exception of the trumpeter who rode a grey. Most were regular soldiers and all had seen service during the war with either the 1st or 2nd Household Cavalry Regiments.

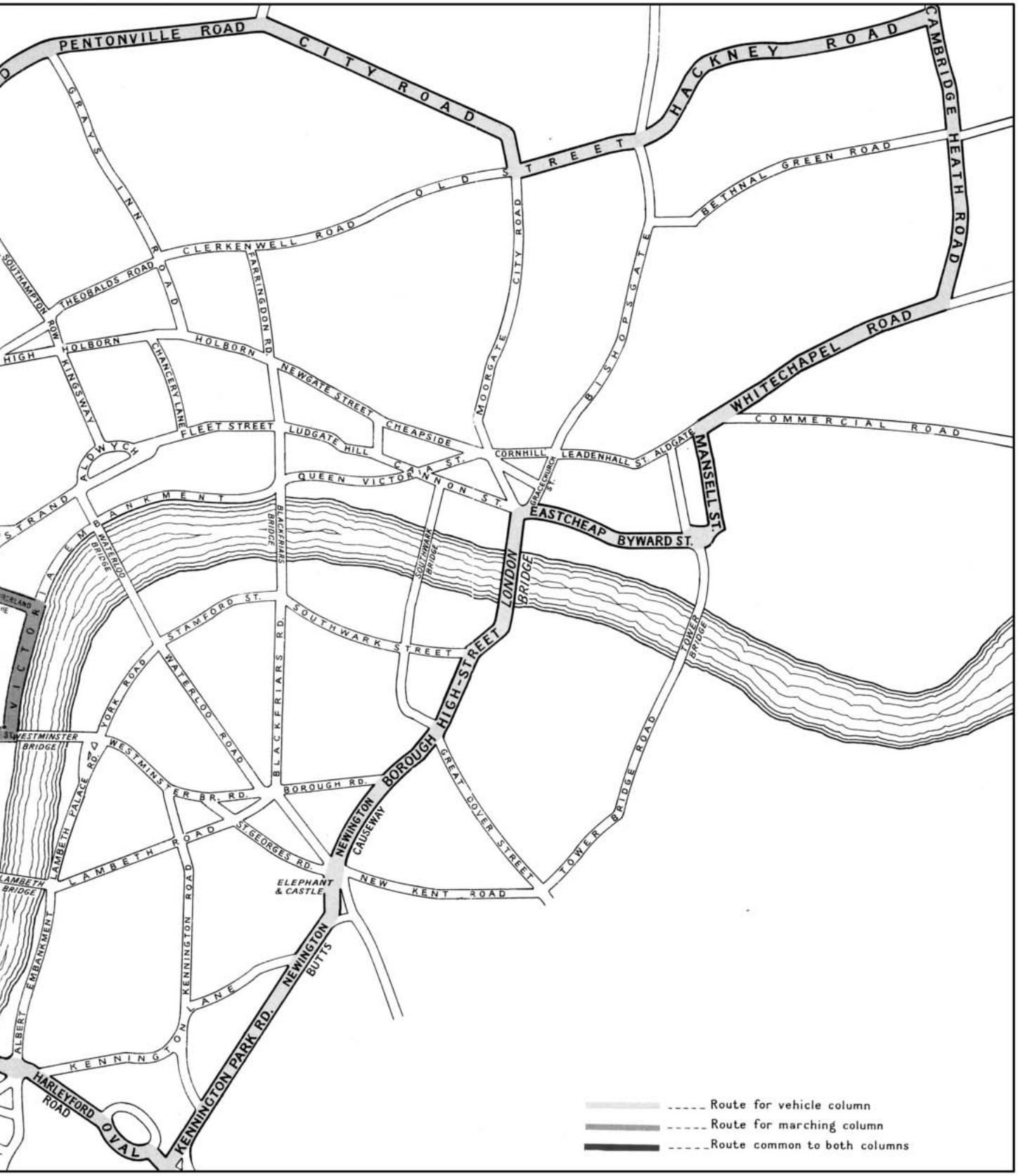
As the Royal Procession trotted up Constitution Hill towards Marble Arch and the route of the Marching Column, the crowds in The Mall were witnessing two other processions. Forming the first were the Chiefs of Staff at VE and VJ-Days, together with the British Supreme Commanders: Lords Cunningham, Alanbrooke, Alexander, Portal, Mountbatten and Maitland-Wilson, who would take their places to the right of the Dais at the Saluting Point. Then came the Prime Ministers' Procession in three open carriages conveying Clement Attlee and Winston Churchill, Mackenzie King of Canada and Field-Marshal Smuts of South Africa, with other dignitaries. At 10.57 a.m. the arrival of the Royal Procession at the Saluting Base was heralded by a Royal Salute from the Household Cavalry trumpeter as the Royal Standard was broken. This was the same Standard that had flown from the cruiser HMS *Arethusa* which had carried the King to the Normandy beaches just ten days after the Allied landings.

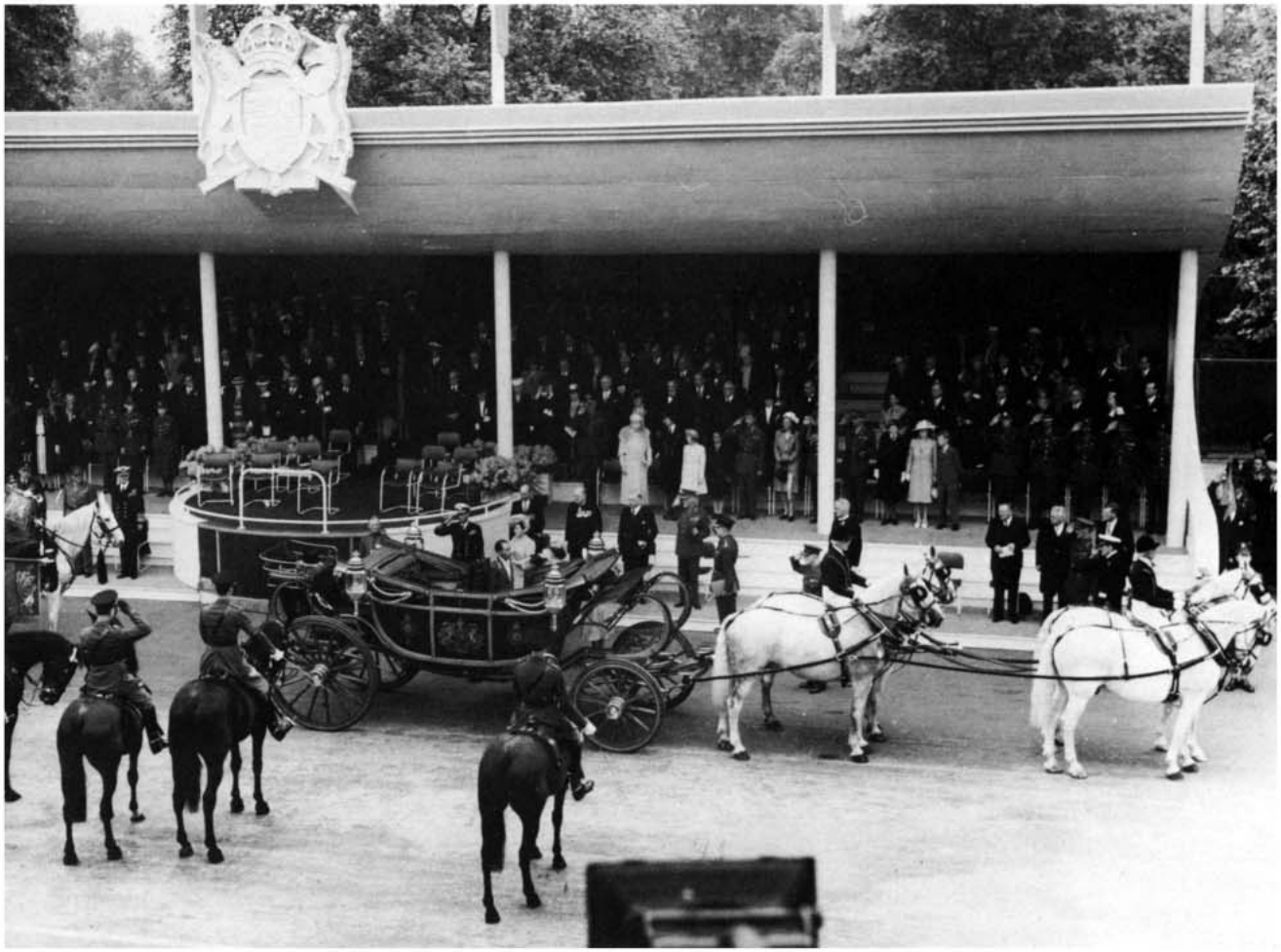
The Royal Party on the Dais included



Queen Mary, the Duchess of Kent in WRNS uniform, and her daughter, Princess Alexandra, the Princess Royal in ATS uniform, the Earl and Countess of Athlone and the Hon. Gerald Lascelles. Foreign royalty was there: King George of the Hellenes, the boy King Feisal and his uncle, the Regent of Iraq, who were to meet horrible deaths twelve years later. The Crown Prince and Princess of Norway, Princess Juliana and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, Prince Felix of Luxembourg and four Indian maharajahs. Lady Mountbatten and her daughters, the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort and other members of the Court were also in the front row of the Saluting Base.

Before the Drive and March Past the VIPs and the crowd in The Mall were entertained by the Massed Pipes and Drums of the Highland Division. Opposite the Dais two bands of the Brigade of Guards were stationed ready to play the troops past the King. On either side of the Saluting Point stood an Irish Guardsman, each carrying a Company Colour (small flag). These acted as markers for the approaching columns, so that just before the first marker was reached the command 'eyes left' was given, followed by 'eyes front' when the tail of each detachment had cleared the second marker.





A Royal Salute by the trumpeter of the Household Cavalry (left on the grey) is sounded as the Royal Family arrive at the Saluting Point. In close attendance to the right of the Dais are the Prime Minister, Mr Winston Churchill, Mr Mackenzie King the Prime Minister of Canada, and Field-Marshal Jan Smuts, South Africa's combined Prime Minister and C-in-C. This picture was taken by an Air Ministry photographer from the upper floor of the two-storey press stand which had been erected on the north-west corner of Marlborough Gate. The structure provided sound-proof booths for commentators on the ground floor with a control room behind and a three-tiered, open-air stand above. The front lower deck accommodated 22 still cameramen with 22 cine and television cameras on the higher two levels behind. Another 250 pressmen were provided seats in front of the stand but, despite vigorous protests and even threats, these were not raised above pavement level.

The Home Office had wanted to control all allocations for camera positions and the movie film of the parade was somewhat restricted in its coverage compared with what we have come to expect of outside broadcasts in the 1980s. The official 20-minute film in black and white uses only two camera angles in The Mall. Much to the chagrin of the Press Department, one newsreel company got round the red tape and made a private arrangement with Westminster City Council to site a camera on the traffic island immediately to the north of the Cenotaph in Whitehall opposite Downing Street. The position can be seen behind the aircraft refueller — all vehicles in the parade being labelled for the benefit of the spectators.

As can be seen from the plan on pages 6 and 7, the parade consisted of two elements: the vehicles and the marching column. The former, after assembling in Regents Park, departed via Clarence Gate at 9.18 a.m. to begin a 12-mile circuitous route around central London. Three-quarters of an hour later the head of the Marching Column (which had formed up in Hyde Park), led by the contingent of 81 officers and men from the United States behind the bands of the Grenadier Guards and Inniskilling Fusiliers, marched through Tyburn Gates from the Park to commence a shorter route of four miles. Here the American detachment wheels right from Oxford Street down Charing Cross Road. (Associated Press)

ORDERS FOR THE MARCH

Marching Column

All Contingents will march in ranks of twelve abreast at 116 paces to the minute by the centre except between the Admiralty Arch and Buckingham Palace, when Contingents will march by the left. The centre files of each rank will march as nearly as possible in the centre of the road.

The right half will keep to the right of, and the left half to the left of, the centre street islands, etc., respectively. Where there are no centre street islands the two halves will close together. Along Oxford Street and New Oxford Street, the number of islands necessitates marching continuously in two halves of six.

Officers marching alone at the head of their Units will keep to the left of the centre street islands, etc.

Wherever possible an officer will form the left file of each rank of twelve.

Each Allied contingent and each independent contingent will receive words of command from its own officers.

For the purposes of giving words of command on the march, all the Army contingents will be grouped into blocks of not more than six ranks, and all commands will be given by the officer on the left of the first rank and on the left of each successive rank in each contingent. The effect of this is that no officer will be required to make himself heard over more than six ranks. All words of command will be prefixed by the cautionary order "No. of det." (To be numbered consecutively within the contingent).

In recent years Oxford Street — a road full of memories since those early days when it was the route of the condemned from Newgate Prison to the gallows at Marble Arch — has undergone a transformation into a restricted-access thoroughfare.

Driving up from Millbank, the first vehicles of the Senior Service enter Parliament Square. The Royal Navy directly followed the Victorious Commanders who led the Mechanised Column in their Daimler scout cars. Here two amphibious jeeps are followed by four Weasels, four DUKWs, two mobile W/T units with a pair of aircraft refuellers and mobile sick bays at the rear. In the distance the leading elements of the RAF column approach the Square.

FORMATION AND RATE OF MARCH

Mechanized Column

Vehicles will normally proceed two abreast at 8 m.i.h. with 20 yards interval between vehicles from front to rear, as near the centre of the road as possible, and on either side of centre street islands.

The Mechanized Column will halt for approximately 20 minutes on arrival at Parliament Square. All vehicles will close up head to tail before halting. Drivers can be changed and essential refuelling will be carried out during this halt.

Marching Column

(i) The Marching Column will halt for approximately 20 minutes on arrival at Parliament Square.

(ii) Marshalling Officers will ensure that all troops in rear close up to the correct intervals before halting.

(iii) Troops will not normally be allowed to fall out during the halt.

(iv) All troops taking part will march to "attention" along the whole route. Rifles will be carried at the slope or at the trail, according to the custom of the Regiment or Service. Arms will be changed as required. Troops will be allowed to march "at ease" after passing Hyde Park Corner.

The Civilian Services will march to "attention" from Parliament Square to the War Office and from Admiralty Arch to Buckingham Palace.

The Cenotaph

On reaching the Cenotaph in Whitehall, the Mechanized Column will pass on either side, and vehicle commanders will give "Eyes right" or "Eyes left" as applicable.

Similarly, the Marching Column will pass on either side of the Cenotaph as for centre street islands, and the command "Inwards Salute" will be given. Words of command will be given as at the Saluting Point.

No compliments will be paid during the march, except at the Cenotaph and when passing the Saluting Point.

After the halt in Parliament Square to close up, the Victorious Commanders lead the parade into Whitehall. Marshals of the RAF Sir Sholto Douglas, nearest the camera, and Lord Tedder on the far side. Lord Dowding follows.

All manner of equipment was paraded by the Services. Some of the more unusual were this landmark beacon and aerial lighthouse towed on trailers behind 3-ton RAF tenders. In the background a mobile floodlight.

At 11.17 a.m. the roar of engines was heard as, preceded by sixteen police motor cyclists, the Mechanised Column entered The Mall. Following the police came the Allied Commanders representing the USA, France, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Nepal and the Netherlands; apart from the first two — a strange choice! In the rear of these came forty-one of the 'Victorious Commanders', the 'circus' as Tedder called it, each one riding in a scout car. Among the famous names driving by were Somerville and Noble (Royal Navy); Auchinleck and Slim (Army); Tedder, Douglas and Dowding (RAF). One commander did not ride in a scout car. 'Monty' — Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery — led the Army Commanders in the comfort of a Daimler staff car!

The Royal Navy led the main body of the Column with amphibious jeeps, Weasels, DUKWs, mobile W/T units, aircraft refuellers and mobile sick bays. A gap of 75 yards and then came the RAF contingent. Two light recce cars, followed by an assortment of vehicles, including a preheater van, dental caravan, astradome caravan, two loaded bomb tenders and a parachute drying tender; sixty-four vehicles in all.

The Civilian Services came next: National Fire Service, Civil Defence, Agriculture, Transport (including four buses), and in the Public Utilities and General Services sections came a mobile coast radio station and two Salvation Army mobile canteens. Another gap and then the tanks of the Royal Armoured Corps leading the Army's mobile force. Guns, excavators, bomb disposal lorries, cable lorries, half-tracks, carriers, ambulances, two mobile laundry washing machine trailers and two boot repair plants (air transportable). Included with the Army section were the war correspondents, FANY (First Aid Nursing Yeomanry) and NAAFI.

A pause — and as the noise and smell of a modern fighting force receded into the distance and the spectators recovered their bemused senses, a more traditional, and for the majority, a more welcome sound was heard — the rich, round notes of a military band. The Marching Column was coming! As it approached the Saluting Point the music was taken up by one of the two Guards bands positioned opposite and the leading files of the Column marched past. These were the Allies, each consisting of high ranking officers, staff officers and a flag party. Led by the USA and followed in alphabetical order by the majority of nations which fought and defeated the Axis forces, notable exceptions being the USSR, Poland and Yugoslavia. Although each was invited, all declined to attend.

The Cenotaph, designed in 1919 by Sir Edwin Lutyens, was unveiled by King George V on Armistice Day 1920 as the symbol of a nation's remembrance for those who had died in four years of world conflict. Within twenty years came another war and, in turn, its soldiers, sailors and airmen paid their own respects. This is the New Zealand Army detachment followed by the Royal New Zealand Air Force.

June 1986. After the anniversary celebrations for D-Day in 1984, VE-Day and VJ-Day in 1985, the 40th anniversary of V-Day passed by without even a mention.

Traffic islands in Whitehall necessitated splitting the columns as per orders into two files of six abreast. This is the Royal Armoured Corps, nearing Trafalgar Square and the turn into The Mall.

Then came the largest contingent — the British Army — with regimental Standards and Guidons heading the Royal Armoured Corps, then the Infantry of the Line with its Colours — each one crowned with a laurel wreath — in four groups spaced throughout the detachment. Rank upon khaki rank marched past the King, wearing on their shoulders the name tapes of most of the famous regiments in British military history: Life Guards and Royal Horse Guards, Dragoons, Hussars, Lancers, Yeomanry, Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and Royal Signals. Foot Guards, The Buffs, Royal Fusiliers, Glosters, Sherwood Foresters, Artists Rifles, London Scottish, Parachute Regiment, SAS and Commandos, and many other regiments. The Corps and Services were next: Chaplains, Service, Medical, Ordnance, Pay, Veterinary, Education and Dental Corps. Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, Military Police, Pioneers, Intelligence, Physical Training and Catering Corps, together with the Welfare Service. The Home Guard, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service, Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) and FANY — whose name belied the essential and dangerous work carried out by some of its members as agents in enemy-occupied territory.

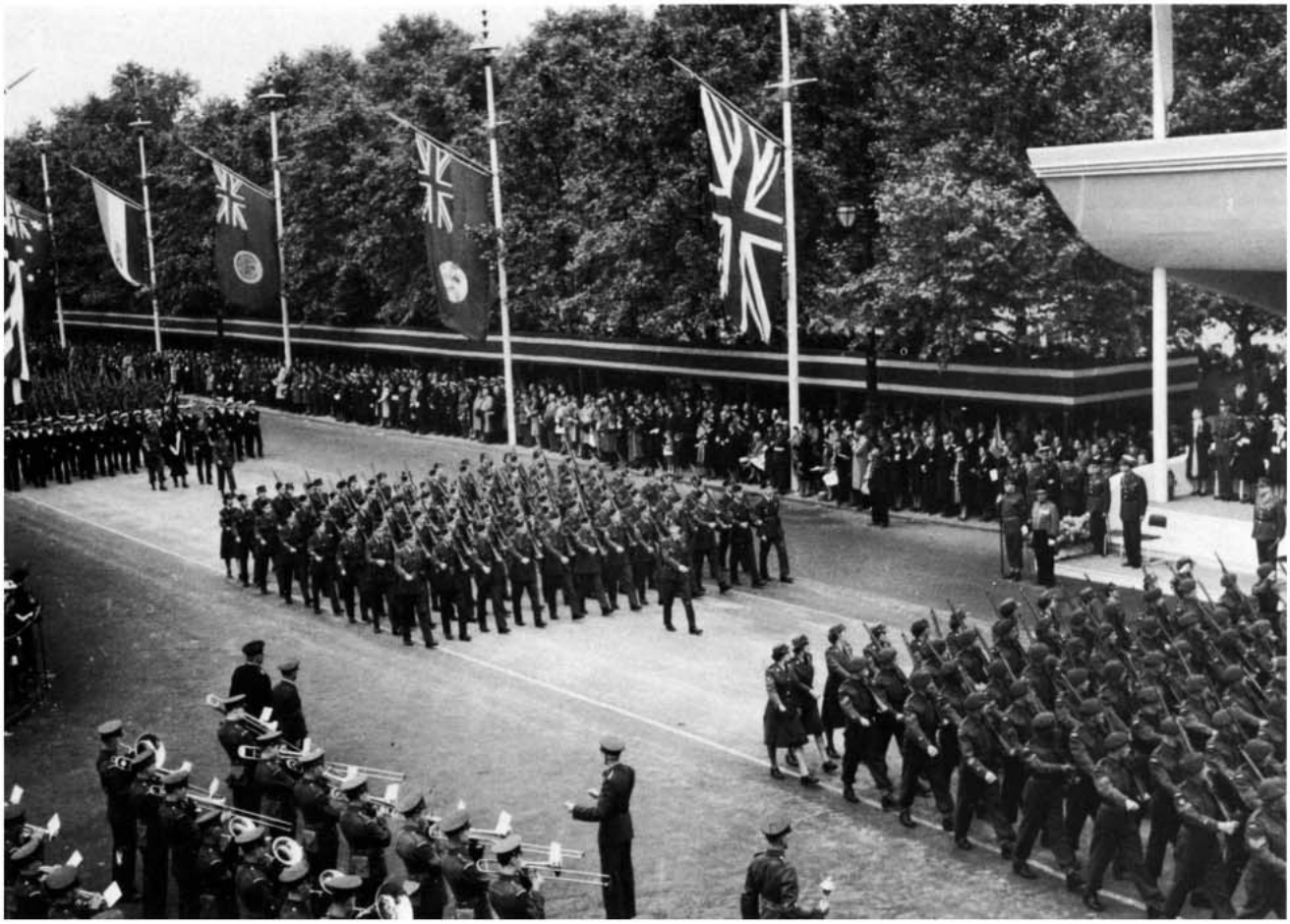
The Second Contingent of the Civilian Services was led by the bands of the National Fire Service and RAF Aircraft Apprentices, the latter headed by their goat mascot, Flight Sergeant Lewis. With his gilded horns and hooves and in his tailor-made jacket, the shampooed Lewis, whose name was derived from the initial letters of London, England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, looked the most elegant of animals.

The penultimate contingent was that of the air forces led by the Central Band of the Royal Air Force in brand-new full dress uniforms, followed by the Allied Air Forces, each detachment consisting of 1 officer and 24 airmen. There should have been nine such units, but only seven were on parade; Poland and Yugoslavia were absent. The US Army Air Forces were in the lead, then came France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, the Netherlands and Norway. Then, to loud cheers, came the RAF — Bomber, Fighter and Coastal Commands, British Air Forces of Occupation, Air Command, South-East Asia, Mediterranean and Middle East. The massed Cranwell, Regiment and No. 1 Regional Bands preceded Transport Command, Flying and Technical Training and Main-

Then came the Dominions, India, Burma and the Colonies in a bewildering array of colourful uniforms. The Australians — the Army distinctive in its famous slouch hats and comfortable jackets; the Royal Australian Air Force in dark blue and black buttons. Some Indian detachments in turbans, including the musicians of the Royal Garhwal Rifles in full dress, and the Gurkhas, their band in rifle green and pillbox caps, the riflemen in khaki and stiff-brimmed slouch hats. Also wearing similar headdresses were several of the African contingents, while the most picturesquely dressed was the small detachment from the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force in long-skirted tunics (called kirtles) with shoulder chains, breeches, puttees and spurs and carrying swords.

Wave upon wave of cheers heralded the Royal Navy, Royal Marines with their band in traditional white helmets, Queen Alexandra's Royal Naval Nursing Service, Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD), and the exceptionally well-drilled WRNS. The Merchant Navy and Fishing Fleets brought up the rear of the naval forces. The bands of the Metropolitan Police and Royal Military College led the first part of the Civilian Services — Police, Fire, Nursing and Women's Voluntary Service.

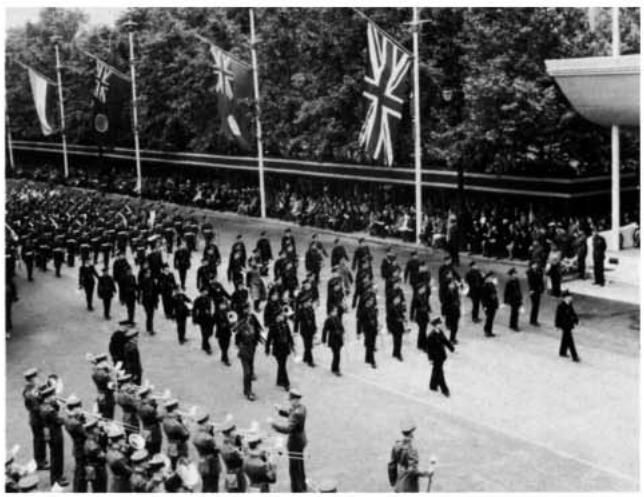
Apart from the armour, probably the most cumbersome vehicle on parade was this tractor towing a Queen Mary aircraft transporter trailer, in all some 60 feet long, seen here negotiating the tight turn into The Mall. (A second Queen Mary carried K and Q-type dinghies and a Mk 2 airborne lifeboat.

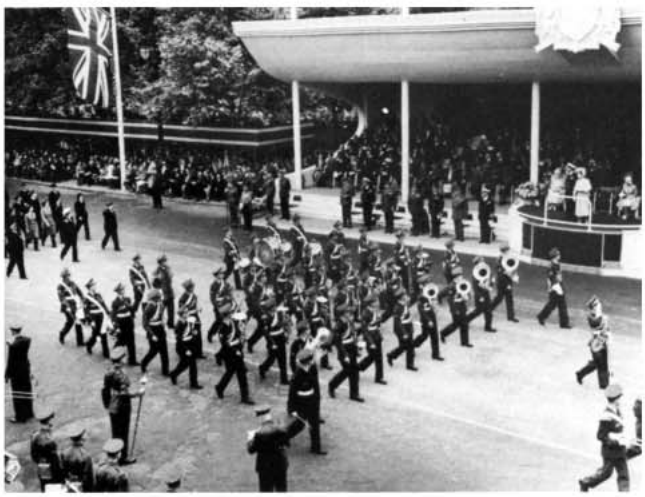


In The Mall two bands of the Brigade of Guards were stationed immediately opposite the Saluting Point to play all the troops past His Majesty. Bands in the Marching Column were spaced approximately 250 feet apart and were ordered to play continuous music but not to play when passing the Cenotaph or within 300 yards either side of the Saluting Base. Here the Canadian Army, Royal Canadian Air Force, and Australian contingent pass the King.

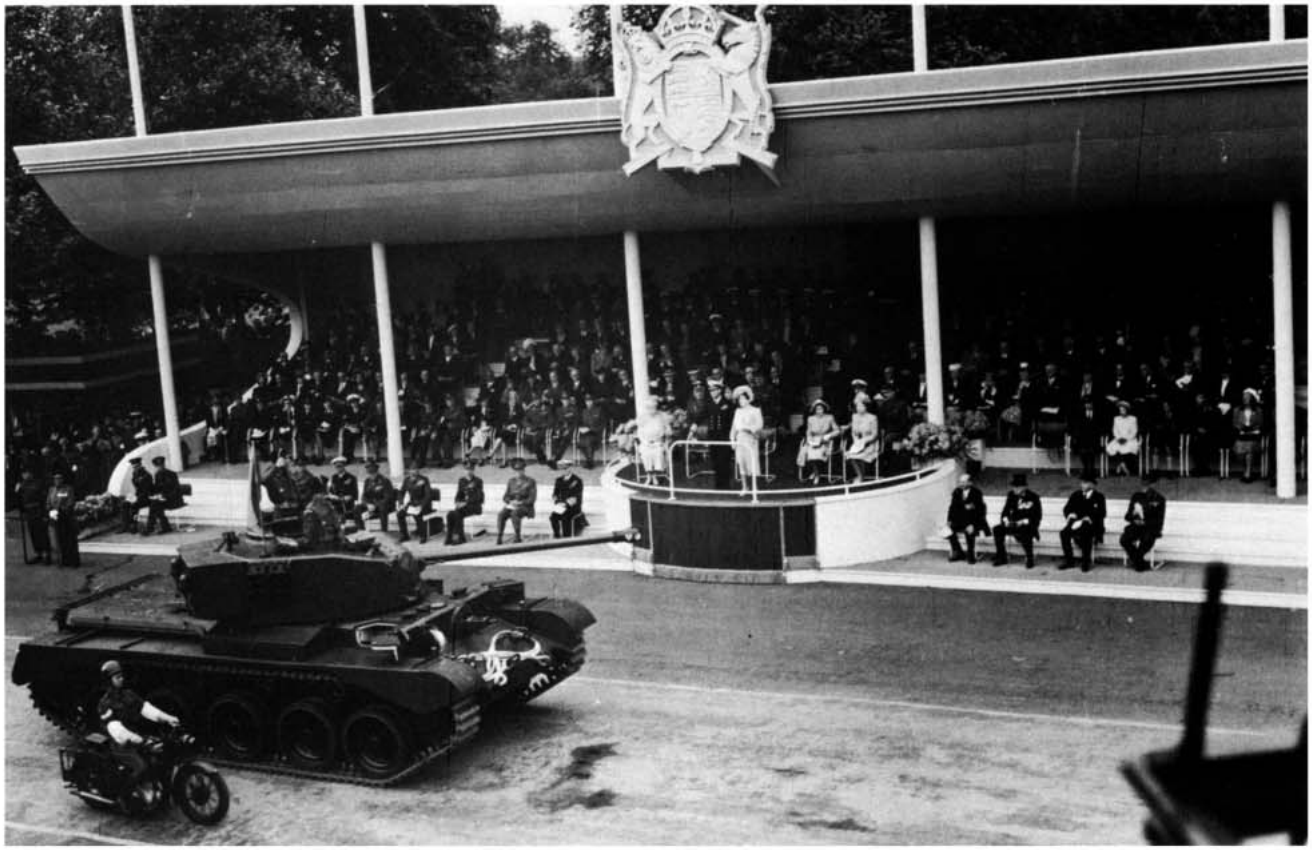
tenance Commands. Recipients of many complimentary remarks, the Iraq Levies was one of the smartest formations on parade in their white-plumed slouch hats and immaculate battledress. The RAF Regiment, only four years old, but proven in battle; the Royal Observer Corps, whose men and women played their parts in the defence of the United Kingdom. The 'PMs' came next —Princess Mary's Royal Air Force Nursing Service, the VAD, and then, led by its own band, heads high, arms swinging, came the proudly marching WAAF (Women's Auxiliary Air Force), conscious of a job well done and that at last they were to be a permanent part of the RAF. On their heels came representatives of Civilian Air Transport before the last detachment of all — that of the NAAFI (Navy, Army and Air Forces Institute), the much-maligned, but essential supplier to the Forces.

As the RAF Contingent was passing the Saluting Point at 12.58 p.m. a lone Hurricane, a symbol of the hundreds that fought in the Battle of Britain, flew over the Column. With an anonymous Battle of Britain pilot at the controls, it led the Victory Fly Past of 306 aircraft in thirty-five squadrons. Flying in precedence of command was one squadron from Bomber Command, twenty from Fighter Command, three from Coastal, one Transport Command squadron, six from the British Air Forces of Occupation and four from the Fleet Air Arm. The aircraft were mainly wartime types: Spitfires, Halifaxes, Lancasters, Mosquitos, Beaufighters, Sunderlands, and Tempests. Firebrands, Fireflies and Sea Mosquitos were from the Fleet Air Arm. New piston-engined aircraft were the Hornets, and for the jet age flew Meteors and Vampires. One type of aircraft was missing — the trainer. Whether





The National Fire Service and RAF Apprentices Band led bus inspectors and conductresses in the second civilian contingent.



With the King and Queen are Queen Mary and Princesses Margaret and Elizabeth. To the left of the Dais are (L-R): General Sir Hastings 'Pug' Ismay; Lord Mountbatten; Field-Marshal Lord Wilson; Field-Marshal Lord Alexander, Marshal of the RAF Lord Portal, Field-Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, and Admiral of the Fleet Lord Cunningham. In the dark background of the stand sit two future Prime Ministers: Harold Macmillan and Harold Wilson.

or not it would have been possible to include a few Tiger Moths, Harvards or Oxfords, a correspondent in the letter columns of *Flight* for June 27 bemoaned the fact that Flying Training Command was not represented.

The squadrons, from various bases, had assembled over Fairlop in Essex and then headed for London at a variety of heights and speeds and some had already run into bad weather. On the approach to the capital the weather deteriorated into what *The Aeroplane* called 'truly foul . . . conditions' with the cloud base below 1,000ft and visibility down to just over one mile. *The Times* correspondent in the leading Lancaster of No. 35 Squadron (shortly to visit the United States) reported 'an almost unbroken curtain of clouds' so that when the aircraft flew over the City visibility had dropped to half a mile. By now the rain was falling so heavily that many of the spectators were running for cover. For the 650 men who made up the aircrews the strict requirements of formation flying were increased by the bad weather and poor visibility and very few, if any, were enjoying what should have been an unforgettable experience.

In addition to the crews four RAF passengers were carried in the Lancasters. These were members of the WAAF: Flight Officer Mary Smith, personal assistant to the AOC-in-C, Bomber Command; Sergeant Edna Coate, a watchkeeper at RAF Graveley in Huntingdonshire, where No. 35 Squadron was based; Corporal Betty Jones and LACW Jean Forbes, both clerks at No. 11 Group HQ, where they were responsible for typing all the Fly Past instructions.

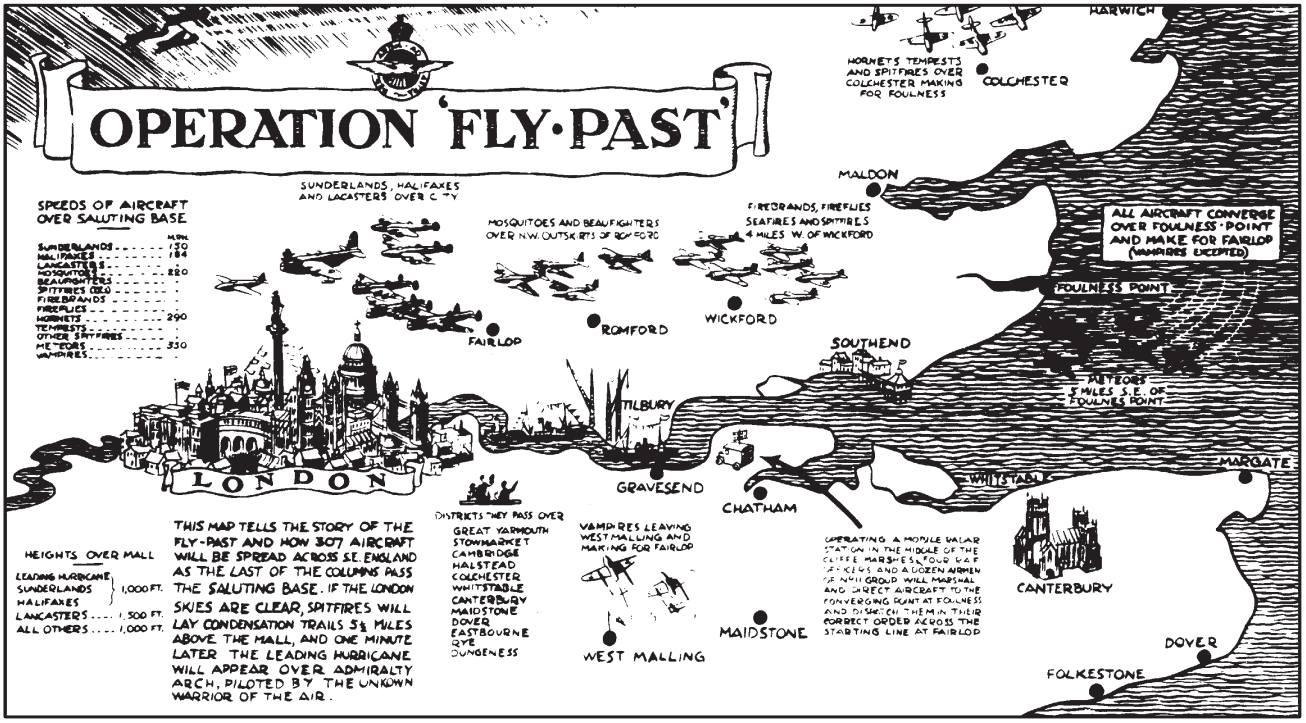
The formation passed over Buckingham Palace and continued westwards increasing height to 3,000ft until Richmond Bridge, Surrey, was reached, then the Hurricane returned to base, while Sunderlands, Lancasters, Mosquitos, Beaufighters and Meteors made a starboard turn to circuit north London. All other aircraft except the Vampires turned to port to fly over south London; the Vampires flying directly to Chilbolton in Hampshire. After their circuits all the aircraft returned to their bases.

The Times 'aeronautical' correspondent lamented the fact that missing from the Fly Past were Blenheims, Battles and Defiants — the latter two not much mourned by their surviving crews! But the Wellingtons, as he put it 'the RAF's beloved "Wimpeys" ' and 'the old and trusty "Stringbag" — the Swordfish biplane' of the Fleet Air Arm — were probably missed and, no doubt, many thought they should have had a place in this great air formation.

With the National Anthem, played by the two duty Guards bands, the formal proceedings ended. The Royal Family, the political and Service chiefs, and the VIPs departed and the crowd scurried for the tube stations and bus routes. The rain increased to a downpour and plans for picnics in the parks were abandoned. However, a number of wet, but enthusiastic people visited the Aircraft Exhibition in the north-east corner of Green Park.

The open air entertainments in the main London parks planned for the afternoon

The only animal on parade (apart from the horses that is) was Lewis the goat!


OPERATION 'FLY·PAST'
SPEEDS OF AIRCRAFT OVER SALUTING BASE
SUNDERLANDS 130
HALIFAXES 184
LANCASTERS 220
MOSQUITOES 290
BEAUFIGHTERS 290
SPITFIRES (2EO) 290
FIREBRANDS 290
FIREFLIES 290
HORNETS 330
TEMPESTS 330
OTHER SPITFIRES 330
METEORS 330
VAMPIRES 330
SUNDERLANDS, HALIFAXES AND LANCASTERS OVER CITY
MOSQUITOES AND BEAUFIGHTERS OVER N.W. OUTSKIRTS OF ROMFORD
FIREBRANDS, FIREFLIES SEAFIRES AND SPITFIRES 4 MILES W. OF WICKFORD
HORNETS TEMPESTS AND SPITFIRES OVER COLCHESTER MAKING FOR FOULNESS
HARWICH
COLCHESTER
MALDON
ALL AIRCRAFT CONVERGE OVER FOULNESS POINT AND MAKE FOR FAIRLOP (VAMPIRES EXCEPTED)
FOULNESS POINT
METEORS 5 MILES S.E. OF FOULNESS POINT
SOUTHEND
FAIRLOP
ROMFORD
WICKFORD
LONDON
TILBURY
GRAVESEND
CHATHAM
WHITSTABLE
MARGATE
CANTERBURY
DOVER
FOLKESTONE
MAIDSTONE
WEST MALLING
HEIGHTS OVER MALL
LEADING HURRICANE, SUNDERLANDS, HALIFAXES 1,000 FT.
LANCASTERS ..... 1,500 FT.
ALL OTHERS ..... 1,000 FT.
THIS MAP TELLS THE STORY OF THE FLY-PAST AND HOW 307 AIRCRAFT WILL BE SPREAD ACROSS S.E. ENGLAND AS THE LAST OF THE COLUMNS PASS THE SALUTING BASE. IF THE LONDON SKIES ARE CLEAR, SPITFIRES WILL LAY CONDENSATION TRAILS 5½ MILES ABOVE THE MALL, AND ONE MINUTE LATER THE LEADING HURRICANE WILL APPEAR OVER ADMIRALTY ARCH, PILOTED BY THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR OF THE AIR.
DISTRICTS THEY PASS OVER
GREAT YARMOUTH
STOWMARKET
CAMBRIDGE
HALSTEAD
COLCHESTER
WHITSTABLE
CANTERBURY
MAIDSTONE
DOVER
EASTBOURNE
RYE
DUNGENESS
VAMPIRES LEAVING WEST MALLING AND MAKING FOR FAIRLOP
OPERATING A MOBILE RADAR STATION IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CLIFFE MARSHES, FOUR R.A.F. OFFICERS AND A QUEEN AIRMEN OF NO. 11 GROUP WILL MARSHAL AND DIRECT AIRCRAFT TO THE CONVERGING POINT AT FOULNESS AND DISPATCH THEM IN THEIR CORRECT ORDER ACROSS THE STARTING LINE AT FAIRLOP

included band and orchestral concerts, community singing, children's dancing, Punch and Judy shows, Scottish piping and dancing and 'Military Dance Bands for public dancing'. At the Regents Park Open Air Theatre the Robert Atkins Bankside Players were to present Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (Admission Free — Chairs 6d). Unfortunately, most of these entertainments were cancelled because of the rain and there must have been many disappointed children who had been excitedly looking forward to participating on this special day. In spite of the rain the Salvation Army band gave a concert in Hyde Park and many of the other items were performed during the following week.

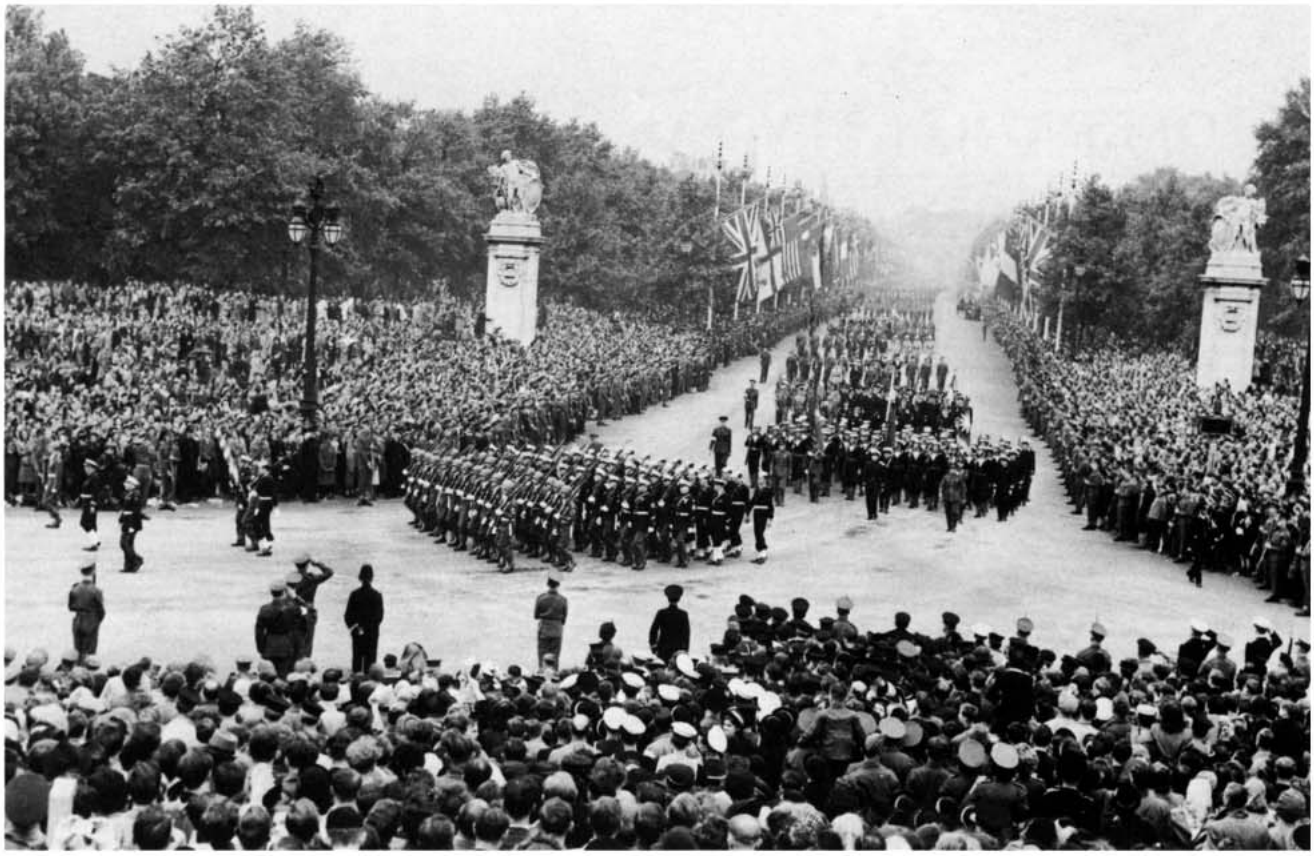
By early evening the rain had ceased and thousands of people came out to see the last act in the day's events. This was the River Display. It had been decided to use the stretch of the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth Bridges and it was hoped that some 400,000 people would be able to see the spectacle.

At 9.22 p.m. the Royal Family proceeded by Royal Barge from Cadogan Pier, Chelsea, with other craft in attendance and escorted by police and fire craft, to a specially constructed landing stage at the Houses of Parliament where they disembarked at 10.00 p.m. to a fanfare of trumpets and a Royal Salute of 41 maroons. From there the Royal Party made its way to the Lord Chancellor's flat in the Palace of Westminster from where they watched the Display; the river terrace of the Houses of Parliament was used to accommodate 1,000 official guests.

At 10.20 p.m. the Water Display began with twenty craft each sprouting three fleur-de-lys as eight fire boats generated powerful coloured jets. At intervals RAF runway projectors lit up the scene in colour. At 10.30 p.m. the Fireworks Display began with a barrage of 200 coloured single rockets, followed by 30 5½in shells, 100 rockets, 200 roman candles, a display of 'floating golden lillies' and 30 mines. These, with additions, were repeated until 10.45 p.m. when there was a combined Firework and Aquatic Display. The fire boats of the National Fire Service released 'a Blanket of Fire Foam on the River which will be illuminated . . . and smoke and flares will be dropped into the Fire Foam which will drift downstream with the tide. At the same time a vista of Floating Golden Fountains, Floating Batteries of Coloured Roman Candles and Floating Diamond Fountains (Aquatic Fireworks) will be seen.'

At 10.55 p.m. an RAF aircraft flew over to be caught in the searchlights with twenty other lights projecting coloured beams over the Display. More fireworks followed commencing with 'Firework Portraits of Their Majesties . . . and Princess Elizabeth.' At 11.15 p.m. two other aircraft were coned by the searchlights; in a Lancaster was Richard Dimbleby commentating on the scene below for Home Service listeners. Meanwhile, a small Water Display was commencing in conjunction with a display of 'Jewelled Jets'. This lasted for ten minutes and concluded with the 'simultaneous discharge of 30 5½in shells, 20 8in shells, 30 mines and 150 Roman Candles and Final salvo of 50 4½in Magnesium shells'. At 11.44 p.m. the 'commentator' aircraft flew over to say 'Goodnight'; one minute later the National Anthem was broadcast and the Display ended. On the way back to base in his Lancaster, Richard Dimbleby summed up the day's events before handing over to John Snagge in the studio for the Epilogue.

The weather — low cloud and heavy rain — marred the Fly Past, timed to pass 400 yards parallel and to the north of The Mall so as to be seen easily from the reviewing stand. The RAF had set up a control position and radar beacon on the roof of the Citadel at the eastern end of The Mall but this did not operate satisfactorily and could not be used. These are the Lancasters of No. 35 Squadron.



It was planned that Britain's four major Allies: the USA, USSR, China and France, would each provide similar sized contingents and march in the procession in that order. In the event the Soviet Union (and Poland and Yugoslavia) did not accept the invitation, thus the Americans, seen here leaving The Mall in front of the Palace, were immediately followed by the Chinese. (Associated Press)

Once more, the Royal Family and VIPs departed and the crowds reluctantly drifted away to get late night buses and tubes (queues a quarter of a mile long built up outside some underground stations). Victory Day was over although some made a night of it and several all-night parties were held. It was felt that the barges used in the Display could be attractive spectacles in their own right and as they could not remain moored in Westminster Reach they were moved to other locations on the river, such as Hampton Court, Richmond and the Tower, where they remained throughout the week.

Also moored on the Thames were, as the programme put it, 'some of His Majesty's ships'. These were the cruisers *Diadem* and *Bellona* at Greenwich; destroyers *Myngs*, *Zambezi*; *Zest* and *Zealous* at Woolwich; the sloop *Stork* and the corvette *Bamborough Castle* at Deptford. (Eighteen months before, on December 9, 1944, the last-named ship had sunk the U-boat, *U-387* while on convoy duty.) In London Docks two submarines, HMS *Token* and *Thermopylae*, were in Shadwell New Basin and four minesweepers were in the Upper Pool. All ships were 'illuminated in Naval fashion' and, with the exception of some motor torpedo boats, were open to the public. This also applied to two Sunderland flying boats moored on the river.

All over the country the day had been celebrated in many forms. In Scotland, towns and villages put out the flags and bunting in perfect weather. Glasgow and Dundee held military parades with bonfires and fireworks in the evening. In Glasgow, representatives of every Scottish regiment took part, together with units from the British Army of the Rhine, the Royal Navy, Royal Air Force and Civilian Services. The parade was seen by an estimated 500,000 people. At Hampden Park football ground Glasgow Rangers met Third Lanark in the Glasgow Charity Cup Final. A rowing regatta on the Clyde, open-air dancing, bands and concert parties in the parks all contributed to the city's festivities. At Greenock, HMS *Theseus*, a light fleet carrier, and the destroyer *Fernie* were open to the public. A floodlit, giant-sized Cross of Lorraine commemorated the town's association with the Free (later called Fighting) French Navy, and lying at anchor was the world's largest liner, *Queen Elizabeth*, so recently known to thousands of US Servicemen as a troopship, now dressed overall and floodlit.

At Edinburgh and Dumfries, there was a revival of the custom of Riding the Marshes, with seventy mounted riders in Edinburgh making their way around the city's boundaries. In Wales, V-Day was turned into a festive occasion, although rain began falling about midday continuing for some four hours. Cardiff held a march past in the afternoon before the Lord Mayor, Glamorgan's Lord Lieutenant, civic dignitaries and Service officers. A victory parade and thanksgiving service were held at Newport, Monmouthshire, followed by fireworks and dancing. The young people were especially catered for in Swansea and it was here that two more destroyers, *Roebuck* and *Wizard*, were open for inspection.

Occasional showers did nothing to interrupt the jollifications in Northern Ireland, where parades, carnivals and sporting events were held. Celebrating began on Friday in

Sunderlands on the Thames added to the general attractions of V-Day. RN299 and VB882 had recently flown back from the Far East with No. 230 Squadron, and were currently based at Pembroke Dock in South Wales.

Belfast, where 40,000 schoolchildren took part in fancy dress parades and sports. On Saturday, Belfast's Victory Queen was crowned by the Lord Mayor at the City Hall. In another part of the city a parade of tradesmen' vehicles and donkey carts, as well as children's fancy dress, were held. Choirs, concert parties and sheepdog trials were entertaining Belfast's citizens, while in Londonderry, a victory ball was held in the Guildhall. In Lisburn, the Services, British Legion, pre-Service and youth organisations paraded.

Most towns and cities of the provinces celebrated in one way or another, although in Birmingham little seems to have been done apart from a few children's entertainments which were marred by rain. In Coventry the only event to mark the day was the placing of a casket containing contemporary records beneath a stone inaugurating the central area redevelopment scheme.

Unfortunately V-Day also brought tragedy. Miss Megan Bonner (53) of South Wales was struck in the face by a rocket stick and died later in Charing Cross Hospital, while Mrs Margaret Waddell, (22) from North Kensington, was dancing on the platform of Westbourne Park Metropolitan Line Station, when she fell in front of a train and was killed.

The police had a good day — only ten people were arrested in the West End of London — a much lower figure than on a normal Saturday!

Children's entertainments postponed from V-Day were held during Whit-week. For four days a twice-daily circus performed in the Wembley Pool before a total of 64,000 children. In Wembley Stadium horse-riding and speedway racing, combined with speciality acts, entertained 80,000 children over four days. The Regents Park Open Air Theatre performed Shakespeare; Sadler's Wells and the Old Vic provided ballet; and the Children's Theatre and Camberwell Palace enacted Dickens. In total, 175,200 children were entertained at a cost of £8,014.

Portraits of the King and Queen and Princess Elizabeth were illuminated by fireworks during the water display.

Floodlighting continued throughout the week although the United Kingdom had to face its many problems once more. Austerity, rationing, a severe housing shortage and all the trials of a 'new, post-war Britain of the Common Man'. Ahead lay the ghastly winter of 1946-47, when the whole country froze in Arctic-like weather conditions. Victory had been won, in Cicely Courtnage's words, by 'the unimportant people', and in spite of everything they had suffered and the bleak, uncertain future, a popular wartime tune, struck up by the Guards bands as the last detachment marched past the King, and still heard at each Remembrance Day ceremony at the Cenotaph, summed up everyone's feelings — *There'll Always Be An England.*

GEORGE MERGENTHALER

Outwardly this issue may appear much the same as any other but there is an important difference which perhaps will be apparent to the discerning reader. In April our associated printing company installed a completely new typesetting system which has resulted in a slight change in the appearance of our typeface due to it being digitally stored on magnetic disc and set by a laser rather than photographically set from a film matrix. The new equipment is made by Linotype, the original company having been established by Ottmar Mergenthaler, the inventor of the Linotype machine in 1885. With its manufacturing base now in Germany, the company recently celebrated the centenary of the installation of the first machine in the *New York Tribune* in June 1886 — just 100 years ago.

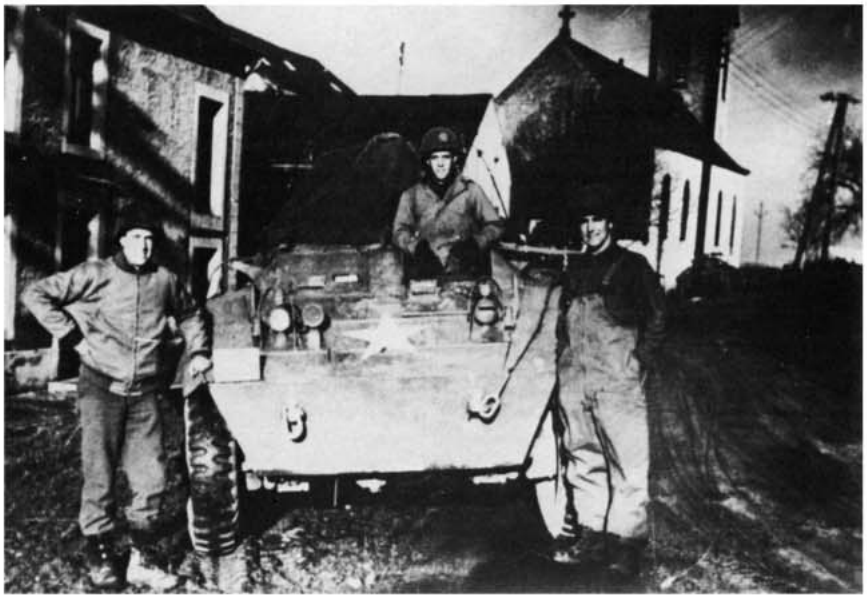
With our dual interest in military history we therefore felt the publication of the first Linotype-set issue of *After the Battle* gave us the opportunity to link the occasion with the little-known story of the death of Ottmar's grandson in Luxembourg in December 1944. George Mergenthaler died, alone, fighting on a hillside near Eschweiler and, but for the efforts of one man, his death would have become just another grim statistic in the Battle of the Bulge. In 1985 we travelled to Eschweiler to find out the details and to seek out that man: Father Antoine Bodson.

George was born in New York City on August 5, 1920, the son of Alice and Herman Mergenthaler. His early schooldays were spent at Rye Country Day School at Rye, New York, followed by four years at the Canterbury School at New Milford, Connecticut. He entered Princeton University in the autumn of 1939 to read History and English and, although he enlisted for service when America entered the war, he completed his university course under the accelerated programme in January 1943.

After graduation he was sent to Camp Hood, Texas, for training with tank destroyers and was assigned to the 28th Cavalry Reconnaissance Troop attached to the 28th 'Keystone' Division. The division embarked for England in October 1943 and George spent the pre-D-Day period, first in the small Welsh village of St Clears, west of Carmarthen, and later in London and at Tidworth.

The autumn of 1944 found George, a Roman Catholic, billeted with the local

The 'Linotype' was first demonstrated by Ottmar Mergenthaler, an emigrant from Germany, in Baltimore in 1885. He was then 30 years old and his invention is unquestionably the most influential development in the history of printing. A contemporary account describes the moment when 'At last all was in readiness and the inventor sat himself before the keyboard, calm and confident, while the onlookers gathered eagerly around in a crowded circle. He deftly touched the keys and the intricate mechanism responded as if under the control of some hidden magician. Everything worked smoothly, easily, readily, almost silently, and with infinite precision. The matrices slid into their places, were clamped and aligned, and the pump discharged its molten metal into the mould. And then, wonder of wonders, a complete line of type, in a slug shining like silver, and all ready for printing, dropped from the mould.' This postage stamp was issued by the Germans in 1954 to mark his birth. Rather ironically, ten years earlier his grandson George had been killed fighting against Germany during the winter of the Ardennes offensive. The memorial depicts the spot near Eschweiler in Luxembourg where he died.



The night before the battle, George, with four or five of his fellow infantrymen, went to Mass in the little church of St Mauritius. There Father Antoine Bodson heard their confession. 'Pray for us', George had requested, and assured the priest: 'Father do not fear; we will defend you.' These pictures were taken by Father Bodson, with George standing on the left.

priest in the presbytery in Eschweiler, a small village five kilometres north of Wiltz. In a letter to George's parents dated April 10, 1945, Father Bodson recalled his friendship with the young American:

'On November 18th 1944, George came to me to live with me. He was highly astonished to find me speaking English, but so was I to find him speaking somewhat German and French. I offered one of my bedrooms, but he liked better, as G.I.s generally do, to sleep on the floor. I arranged his room as comfortable as possible. He felt in my house like at home. He was treated like a brother and after a few days already we were the best friends. Every night we sat together, listening to the broadcasting, news, music etc. Sometimes he dined or had supper with me. On Thanksgiving Day we had a nice little party. Out of my library he got books to study or to read. Often he said to me: Father Bodson, with you I am like at home. George appreciated our church. Every morning he went with me to Holy Mass and communion. When there arrived a package from overseas, he did not open it until I was present. So we spent five weeks together.

'On December 16th, we had the second German invasion over here in Luxembourg and it was worse than that in 1940. During the night of the 17th of December, George and all his comrades were on guard. The day after, the Germans were close to my town, so that all the inhabitants and I too had to

Left: **Just a few yards away stood the presbytery where George was billeted with Father Bodson with whom he soon forged a close bond. The whole village was badly damaged in the subsequent fighting and the building had to be demolished and rebuilt. Right: This is the spot where it stood, its replacement now a little further back from the road.**

leave. Before I left I saw George once more, we shook hands and wept. This was the last time I saw him. I went down to the southern part of Luxembourg, where I had to spend about 6 weeks until the Germans had been pushed back. On February 5th I came back to Eschweiler and found so much destruction. Especially the church and my house had suffered much. The Germans had stolen everything they could find. George was always in my mind and I thought, what would he say seeing all this destruction.'

On Monday, January 22, 1945, official notification from the War Department was received by George's parents that their son had been missing in action since December 20. The last letter they had received from him was postmarked December 3 but there was no further news of his whereabouts.

Then about February 15 Father Bodson found several letters and photographs scattered outside the village which he recognised as belonging to George but he could only think that he had lost them when being taken prisoner or perhaps when he discarded his personal belongings during the battle. Another month passed with no news.

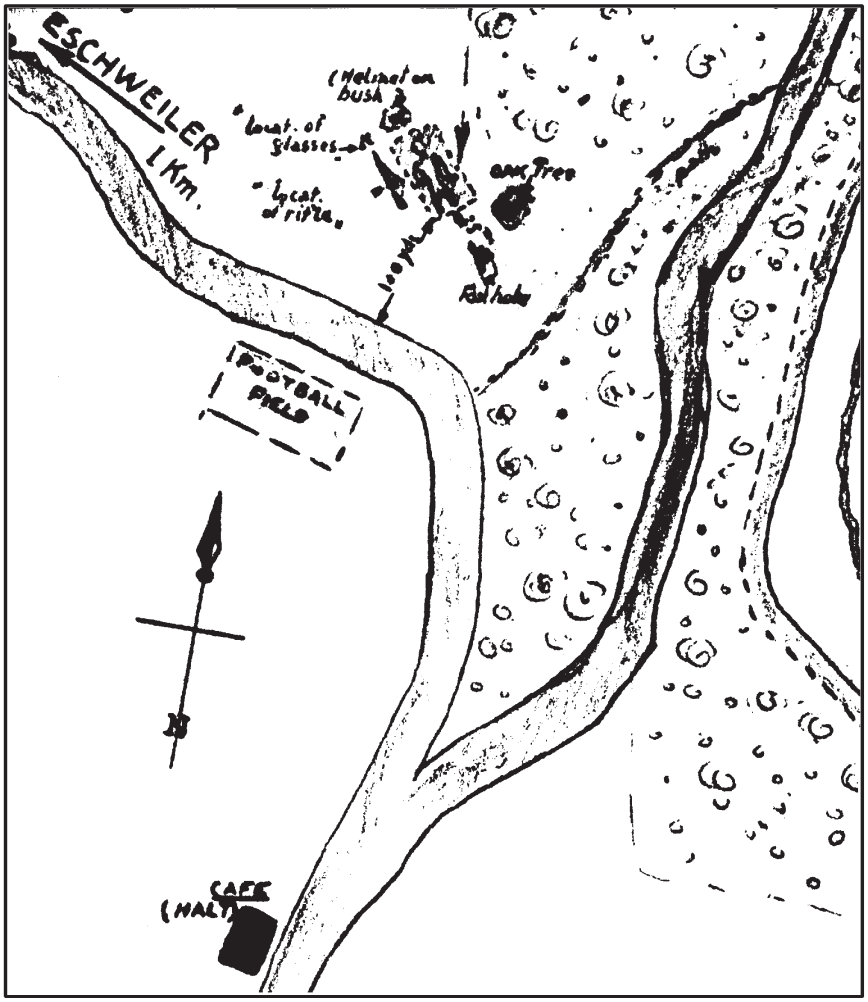
Then, with the melting of the snow, word reached Father Bodson that an isolated grave had been found on the edge of a field outside the village. From the rifle and helmet lying nearby it was assumed to be that of a GI. It was Father Bodson's sad duty to investigate the grave and in his letter to Mr and Mrs Mergenthaler he described what he found:

'On March 24 I walked to the place, removed some stones from the grave and saw the head. I could not recognize his face, but I recognized his hair. I opened a little more of the grave to find the chain around his neck, but I did not find anything. Finally I recognized the beautiful vest you had sent George for Christmas. So I was sure to have George before me. Can you understand, that I felt sorry and wept. I bought a coffin and on Monday 26th of March I dug with some parishioners the corpse from the ground. In his pocket I found his prayer-book and the two marks he generally carried around his neck, one of which I bound with a wire around his neck and I took the second to send it to you. I blessed the corpse, wound a rosary around his hand and put it into the coffin. On March 26 at 6 p.m., while our 3 bells were ringing, I buried George in the cemetery of Eschweiler. All my parishioners were present praying.'

During the following months, Father Bodson exchanged many letters with the family in America, explaining the special relationship that he had enjoyed with George. In September, at the behest of Mr Mergenthaler, the temporary coffin was replaced with a zinc casket inside another of oak and he requested, both to the Mayor of Eschweiler and the American Graves Registration Command that the grave of his son not be disturbed until he and his wife could travel to Europe to see it for themselves.

The affectionate remembrance with which George was held by the people of Eschweiler was demonstrated at a special memorial service held in October 1945, attended by representatives of the governments of the Grand Duchy and the United States.

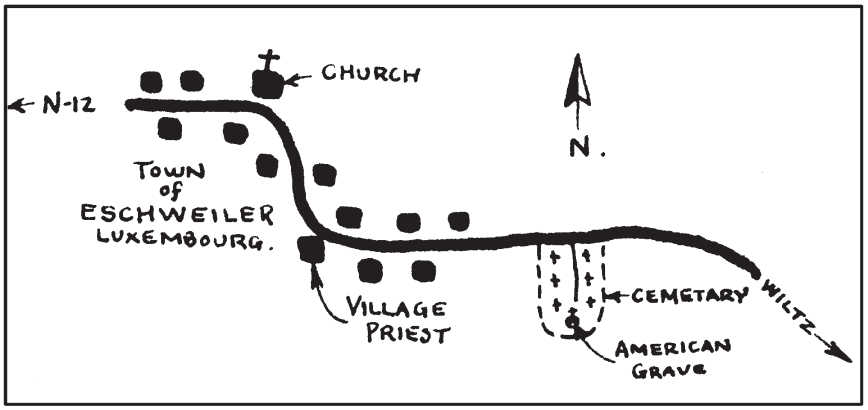
On February 26, 1946, Pfc Stanford Friend, leader of Graves Search Team No. 3 of the 531st Quartermaster Army Graves Recovery Unit at Diekirch, visited Eschweiler and was informed of the US soldier's grave behind the church. He reported that as the local priest was not available he returned the following day to find Father Bodson evasive lest the unit disinter the body for reburial in the military cemetery then being established at Hamm. Pfc French reported the matter to his chief, 1st Lieutenant Abram C. Rosenberg, who checked the background to the burial during a telephone call with the



The German Army entered Eschweiler on December 18 and Father Bodson informed the American Graves Registration Command in his statement that George had suffered a shrapnel wound to the neck. Buried where he had fallen by an unknown German soldier, his rifle, helmet and glasses were found beside the grave.

American Chargé d'Affaires in Luxembourg, George Platt Waller. Mr Waller confirmed that the parents planned to come to Europe to see the grave before they decided whether or not to have the remains repatriated to the United States.

Lieutenant Rosenberg, understandably, felt that as he had been sent to the area on a specific mission to concentrate isolated war graves, it was his duty to carry out his orders so he referred the matter on to his chief, Colonel James H. Gee in Liège, with statements from Father Bodson and Platt Waller. Colonel Gee could see no extenuating circumstances and in his report to the Second Field Commander of American Graves Registration Command in Brussels, he reiterated that: 'It is the considered opinion of the undersigned that this command is charged with the disinterment of the remains of subject individual and the processing and evacuation of same to Hamm US Military



With the help of John Mersch, Father Bodson, removed George from his foxhole grave and buried him in a central place of honour in the village cemetery. This sketch prepared at the time was appended to the file when the whole issue of the repatriation of the remains was raised by his father Herman with the US authorities in Washington.

Cemetery. However, in view of the relatively high level at which opposition has been encountered; to wit, Mr Waller's letter, I have directed Lt Rosenberg to defer disinterment, pending a statement of policy from appropriate higher headquarters.'

From Brussels the matter was referred on March 25 to the Office of the Quartermaster General in Washington. As the US Secretary of State had already been advised of the family's wishes the War Department instructed that the matter be held in abeyance. In his letter to Herman Mergenthaler, the Assistant QMC, Lieutenant Colonel N. J. Robinson, assured him that his son would not be moved and that 'it is anticipated that the return at Government expense of the remains of those who have died overseas to a final resting place as selected by the next of kin will be authorised in the near future.'

The news was gratefully acknowledged by Mr Merganthaler: 'Today I have your most welcome and indeed spiritually uplifting letter', he wrote to Colonel Robinson. 'In our case, as parents of an only child and ourselves the last of our respective lines, may I say the receipt of your letter is among the few remaining evidences of comfort remaining to us.'

Mr Merganthaler cabled the news to Father Bodson, then preparing to travel to America to see the family. The latter had asked George's father if he would like him to bring his son's broken rifle and helmet which he had recovered from beside the grave, but the family replied no; that they only wished to have his personal possessions.

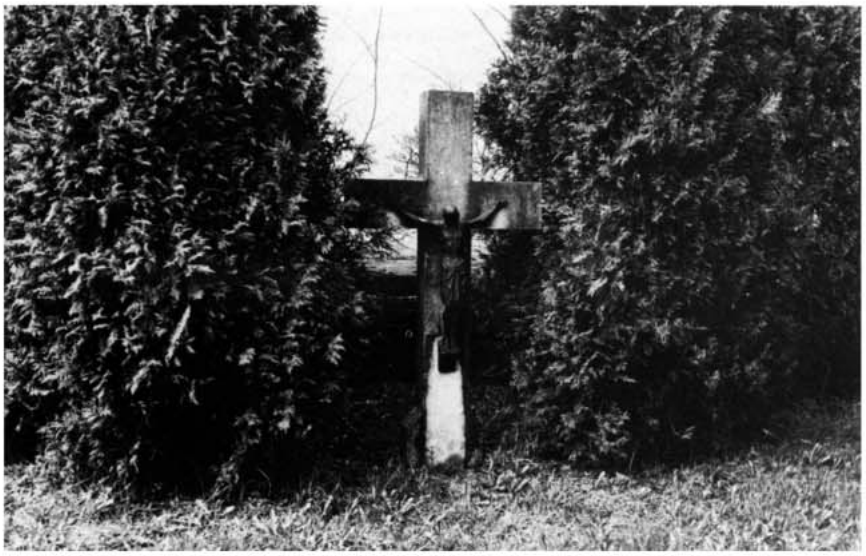
In January 1947 the French government, via the French Registration and Research Service, advised the American authorities that it was quite possible that after a number of years isolated graves may not be properly maintained and that it be preferable that all American graves be concentrated in established US Military Cemeteries where constant care and supervision could be given by American personnel. Such a move would also facilitate the return of remains to the United States should next-of-kin so desire.

When news of the impending action reached the family in Rye, they were most distressed and an appeal to the heart was sent the following day to the Memorial Division of the QM General, reminding the authorities of the earlier assurances given them. 'My wife and I are very much interested in this village, the Church and the Parish burial ground,' wrote Herman, 'and we are at this time rebuilding the church in memory of our only child and son, and where he attended Mass every day. . .'

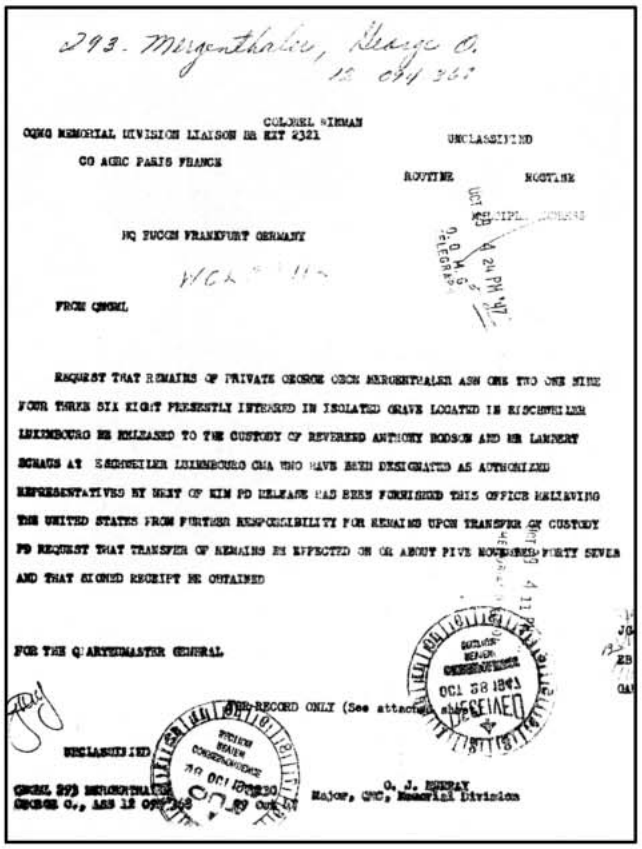
Father Bodson looks on as George Platt Waller, the US Chargé d'Affaires in Luxembourg, lays a wreath at the service held in October 1945.

Colonel J. B. Colson, Assistant QMC, replied that while his office fully understood and appreciated the position of the family, it was in their own best interest to have their son's remains moved prior to the start of the repatriation programme which was to begin later that year, and proposed that George be transferred to the US Military Cemetery at Henri-Chapelle, Belgium.

Within days, the Mergenthaler family had instructed the New York lawyers Dillon O'Brien & Clark to draw up a Deed of Discharge whereby the United States government was released of any further responsibility for their son and giving absolute control over his remains to his parents. From the comments attached to the file it would appear that such a document was unique in



Today the empty grave is still marked with a symbolic cross in front of which has been constructed this tiny open air memorial chapel.



2793. Mergenthaler, George O.
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COLONEL SIMMAN
OQMG MEMORIAL DIVISION LIAISON SR EXT 2321
UNCLASSIFIED
CG AGRC PARIS FRANCE
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HQ EUCOM FRANKFURT GERMANY
WCA
FROM QMGML

REQUEST THAT REMAINS OF PRIVATE GEORGE OSCR MERGENTHALER ASN ONE TWO ONE NINE FOUR THREE SIX EIGHT PRESENTLY INTERRED IN ISOLATED GRAVE LOCATED IN ESCHWEILER LUXEMBOURG BE RELEASED TO THE CUSTODY OF REVEREND ANTHONY BODSON AND MR LAURENT SCHAUS AT ESCHWEILER LUXEMBOURG WHO HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED AS AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVES BY NEXT OF KIN PD RELEASE HAS BEEN FURNISHED THIS OFFICE RELIEVING THE UNITED STATES FROM FURTHER RESPONSIBILITY FOR REMAINS UPON TRANSFER OF CUSTODY PD REQUEST THAT TRANSFER OF REMAINS BE EFFECTED ON OR ABOUT FIVE NOVEMBER FORTY SEVEN AND THAT SIGNED RECEIPT BE OBTAINED

FOR THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL

FOR RECORD ONLY (See attached sheet)

UNCLASSIFIED

GRAVES REGISTRATION SERVICE
OCT 58 1947
RECEIVED

OMGML 293 MERGENTHALER GEORGE O., ASN 12 084 320

O. J. MURRAY
Major, QMC, Memorial Division

HEADQUARTERS, FIRST ZONE
551st QM GROUP
AMERICAN GRAVES REGISTRATION COMMAND
APO 58 (LIEGE) US ARMY

CERTIFICATE - TRANSFER OF CUSTODY OF REMAINS

I, the undersigned, acting for ALICE SWEENEY and HERMAN C. MERGENTHALER, next of kin of GEORGE O. MERGENTHALER, Private, ASN 12094366, deceased, do hereby acknowledge assumption of custody of the remains of the above-named decedent and do hereby release the United States Government from any further responsibility for the remains or for the perpetual care and maintenance of the grave of the above-named deceased. I further relinquish all rights to request, at a later time, other disposition of the remains at Government expense.

WITNESSED:
(1)
(2)

(Signature)
(Date) Nov. 5, 1947

I, the undersigned, on behalf of the Chief, American Graves Registration Service, United States Army, hereby relinquish custody of the remains of the above-named decedent to the next of kin or his authorized agent under the above-named conditions, effective this date.

WITNESSED:
(1)

Colonel [illegible] QMC
Commanding Officer
Hqs. First Zone, 551st QM Group,
American Graves Registration
Command

3 November 1947

A unique signal — so unique in fact that the official US WWII Burial Register still listed George Mergenthaler as being buried in Eschweiler as late as March 1973. The record was corrected with a note that the remains were returned to New York in 1947. This is the letter Father Bodson signed that November on behalf of the family.

the experience of the Quartermaster General's Office and an opinion, not communicated to the family, was that the deed was of dubious legality. Nevertheless the spirit in which it had been prepared was acknowledged and it was accepted with the proviso that George's body would not be released to the family for return to the United States prior to the commencement of the official repatriation programme. As Brigadier General Horkan explained to Herman Mergenthaler, 'I am sure you will readily understand that it is necessary for all next of kin to receive equal consideration in the return of their loved ones and that it is not considered advisable to permit the remains of particular individuals to be brought back in advance of scheduled operations . . . and would be manifestly unfair to grant special privileges.' This the Mergenthalers accepted.

In the autumn a report was called for from the 551st QM Group of the AGRC requesting positive evidence of identification of the remains as only identified dead were to be permitted to be returned to the States. As 1st Lieutenant William Scott noted in his letter accompanying his Report of Interment, in this case all information had to be made from surface investigation only, backed up by statements from Father Bodson and John Mersch who had assisted the priest in the burial. Lieutenant Scott reported that: 'The features of the face were recognizable at this time by Father Bodson and with no conflicting information identification was certain. Beside the grave was found a broken M1 Rifle, No. 2439914, believed to have belonged to the deceased and one pair of glasses. Steel helmet, helmet liner, and OD knit wool cap were found hanging on a small bush at the head of isolated burial location although inspection of the rifle, helmet, helmet liner and knit cap does not reveal any name but helmet and knit cap does bear the insignia of the 28th Division. It should be mentioned that Father Bodson stated that the body was mined and though body was removed without exploding the mine, it was necessary that a man come from Wiltz and remove the mine from its location. It was also noted by the undersigned that the area had been mined for a small personnel mine of unfamiliar type was found by the undersigned within 10 yards of the place where Mergenthaler's body was removed. Father Bodson placed the remains into a coffin and returned to Eschweiler (Wiltz) where burial with Catholic service was made in the communal cemetery at 1800 on the 26th of March 1945. Since this date the coffin has been removed once and remains placed into a

Although Mr and Mrs Mergenthaler always intended to see for themselves where their only son had fought and died, it was not until 1954 that they were able to come to Europe. That year Herman travelled to Germany with his wife Alice to take part in the centenary of the birth of his father in Hachtel, (now part of Bad Mergentheim, 30km south of Würzburg), at the invitation of the town's Mayor (right). Next to him in this picture is Mr André Wolff, Luxembourg's Commissioner to the United States, while behind are other members of the Mergenthaler family: Pauline (Herman's sister) and a niece Nancy. Father Bodson on the extreme left walks with Mrs Wolff.

THIS ONLY SON DIED THAT OTHER SONS
MIGHT LIVE IN LOVE AND PEACE
DESEN ENZEGE JONG AS GESTURWEN FIR DASS
NER JONGE KONNE LIEWEN A LEVT AN A FRID

On the Mergenthaler's visit to Eschweiler, Father Bodson was able to show them the monument he had erected on the spot where he found George, and also the rebuilt church, the restoration of which they had paid for after the war. Inside its entrance stood the dedication plaque *(left)*, also financed by the family in 1948, while high on the wall behind the altar, an inspiration of Father Bodson's and the most poignant memorial of all: the mural with their son's likeness superimposed on the painting of St John (on the right of the picture *above*).

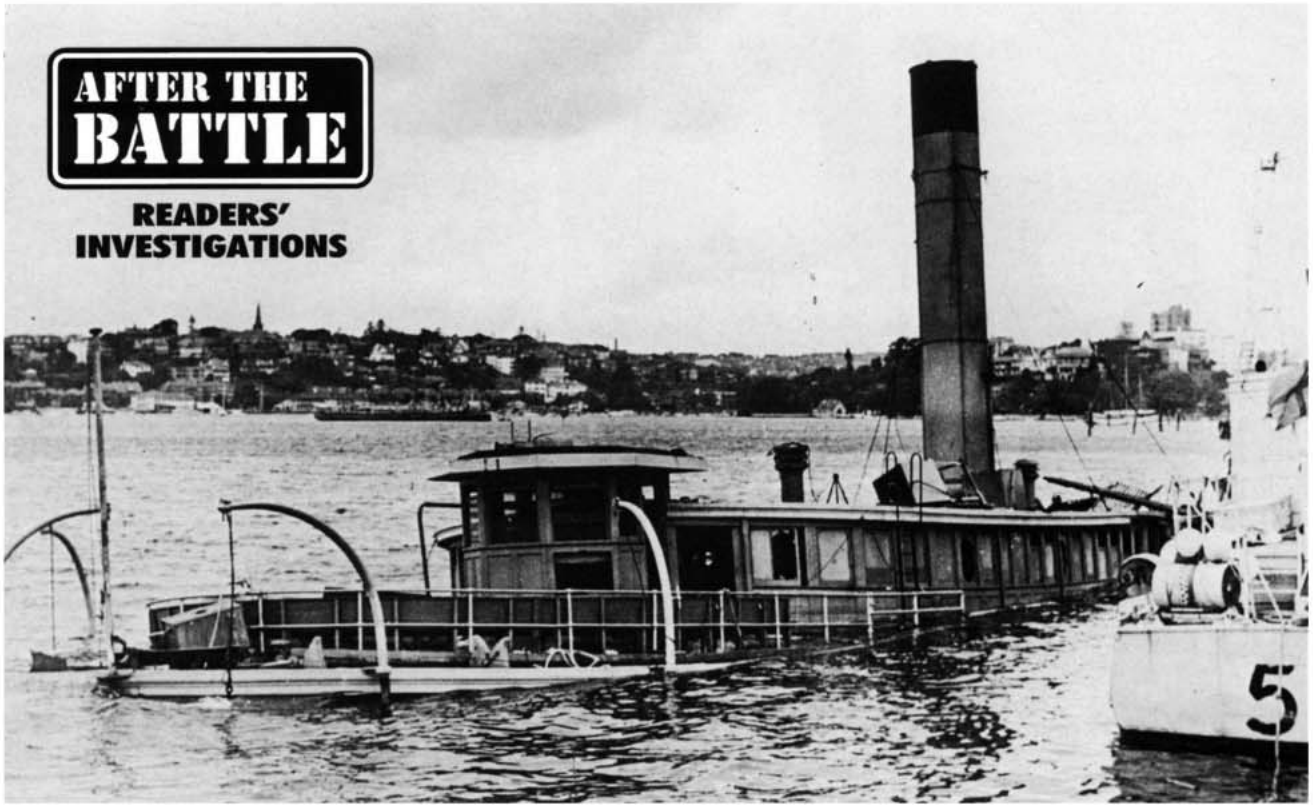
zinc-lined oak casket. On the grave (see sketch for location) will be found a stone cross bearing the name: George O. Mergenthaler and beneath the three letters R.I.P, for Rest in Peace.'

The first American war dead to leave Europe were those from Henri-Chapelle, the first 6,300 arriving in New York on October 25, 1947. Eventually some 60 per cent of American parents took advantage of the Government's offer to bring back the remains of sons and daughters killed serving abroad, yet Herman Mergenthaler may well be the only father who insisted that he alone be responsible for his son. The signal authorising the release was despatched and received in Europe on October 28 so that the exhumation could go ahead as the American Express Company were hoping to catch the SS *Burckel* of the Belgian Line sailing from Antwerp on October 30.

The people of Eschweiler, understanding that the wishes of the family were paramount, were nevertheless sad to lose someone who had come to mean the very epitome of American-Luxembourg friendship and George's gravesite, in the centre of the little village burial ground, was retained as a symbolic memorial. A monument was erected on the spot where George had died, paid for jointly by Father Bodson and André Wolff, Luxembourg's Commissioner to the United States. The Mergenthaler family had already paid for the village church to be repaired and for the incorporation of stained-glass memorial windows and a commemorative plaque was unveiled in the foyer in 1948.

On the wall behind the altar the huge mural depicting the feeding of the multitude with the loaves and fishes had suffered damage in the fighting and on its repair was introduced what must be one of the most poignant memorials to a fighting man. In front of Jesus stands St John, yet the face is now that of an American soldier: George Mergenthaler.

George was laid to rest in the Holy Sepulchre Cemetery in Rochester, New York (Lot 117, Section 21). The Mergenthaler's interest in the Linotype Company had been sold on the death of Herman's eldest brother, and for their last years Herman and Alice lived at the Westchester Country Club in Rye. Alice died in 1962 in the United Hospital and Herman at his suite at the club ten years later. Father Bodson, who remained at Eschweiler until 1951 when he became curé of St Jean's parish in Luxembourg city, retired in 1969. He visited the family in America three times — in 1946, 1956 and 1967 — yet much to his regret was never able to visit this, the grave of his young American friend.



THE NIGHT THAT SHOOK SYDNEY

BY JOHN A. WILLIAMS

On the night of May 31, 1942, Sydney Harbour got its first and only taste of real warfare during the Second World War. To understand what happened that night we must go back some seven months to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. In that attack the Japanese used five midget submarines which did not achieve any notable success. In fact, nine men were killed and one was taken prisoner *(see After the Battle No. 38)*.

In May 1942 the Japanese decided to send two submarines, *121* and *129*, on a reconnaissance patrol to Suva and Sydney to reconnoitre both harbours for the best naval targets available. The plan was part of an advance overall attack on the New Guinea area which, after the setback at the Battle of the Coral Sea some two weeks before, was postponed. It was still decided, however, to proceed with the attack by the midget submarines. (Statistically the midget submarines were 80 feet in length, 6 feet wide and 5 feet 10 inches high with a crew of two and carried two torpedoes in the bow.)

On or about May 20 submarine *129* launched its reconnaissance aircraft over Sydney Harbour and confirmed the presence of both 'battleships and cruisers at anchor in the Harbour'. The commander of the 8th Squadron, Captain Hankyu Sasaki, then ordered Sydney as the target for the attack.

On the night of May 29 there were five submarines approximately thirty-five miles north-east of Sydney Heads. They were *122* (midget No. 21 — Lieutenant Keiu Matsuo and Petty Officer Masao Tsuzuku); *124* (midget 'A' — Sub-Lieutenant Katsuhisa Ban and Petty Officer Namori Ashibe); *127* (midget No. 14 — Lieutenant Kenshi Chuma and Petty Officer Takeshi Ohmori); *129* (with probably a damaged aircraft) and *121* (with an aircraft). At approximately 3.00 a.m., in rough and rising seas, *121* launched its aircraft piloted by Lieutenant Susumo Ito. It flew over Sydney Harbour at about 600 feet and reported both the cruisers USS *Chicago* and HMAS *Canberra*, plus four destroyers in The Man-of-War anchorage. On his return to *121* Lieutenant Ito capsized his aircraft and it sank. Both Ito and his observer reached *121* by swimming and reported their findings to Captain Sasaki. As nothing was reported from Suva Harbour Captain Sasaki's decision was for the midget submarines to attack Sydney Harbour that night — May 31.

The six crew members of the midget submarines had a last meal and, in keeping with tradition, changed into fresh uniforms before leaving the mother submarines for the midgets. The sun set at 4.54 p.m., and around 4.15 p.m. *122*, *124* and *127* released their midget submarines approximately seven miles east of Sydney Heads. (As the midget submarines approached Sydney Harbour on that Sunday in May it is interesting to note that 172 years earlier on another Sunday — May 6 — Captain James Cook in HMS *Endeavour* sailed his ship up to the mouth of Sydney Harbour on the same route that the three submarines were about to take.)

The submerged hull of the HMAS *Kuttabul* after the Japanese attack. Twenty ratings died as the ship went down. Today, this quiet corner of Sydney harbour is overlooked by modern tower blocks.

Plan of the Japanese submarine attack on Sydney showing positions of the vessels involved. (Australian War Memorial)

At 8.01 p.m. the Indicator Loop which stretched between Middle Head and South Head recorded an inward crossing which was midget No. 14. However, its significance was not realised owing to the large amount of Harbour traffic at the time. Some fifteen minutes later Mr J. Cargill, a watchman with the Maritime Services Board reported a suspicious object caught in the anti-torpedo net which stretched between George's Head and Green Point. After investigating, Mr Cargill reported the object to Lieutenant Eyers on HMAS *Yarroma* at approximately 9.30 p.m. Fearing the object to be a magnetic mine they did not take *Yarroma* too close to the Harbour Boom.

Having received orders to close the object to give a full description, at 10.20 p.m. Lieutenant Eyers sent a stoker across in a skiff to investigate. The stoker reported that the object was, in fact, a 'small' submarine. At 10.30 p.m. *Yarroma* signalled Sydney Naval Headquarters 'object is sub., request permission to open fire'. Lieutenant Chuma and Petty Officer Ohmori, wishing to give their comrades as much time as possible to enter the harbour, waited until the last possible moment before setting off the demolition charges in midget No. 14. At 10.35 p.m. the charges exploded destroying both the submarine and Lieutenant Chuma and Petty Officer Ohmori.

At 9.48 p.m. Sub-Lieutenant Ban and Petty Officer Ashibe crossed the Indicator Loop in midget 'A'. The general alarm had been sounded at 10.27 p.m. and again at 10.36 p.m. The first warning instructed all shipping to go to anti-submarine precautions. At 10.50 p.m. the USS *Chicago* sighted the midget submarine 'A' approximately 500 yards away and opened fire with pom-pom tracer with no apparent success.

With all this confusion going on, midget No. 21 with Lieutenant Matsuo and Petty Officer Tsuzuku slipped into Sydney Harbour at approximately 10.50 p.m. HMAS *Yandra* attacked with six depth charges at 11.07 p.m. and contact was lost after this.

The Naval Officer-in-Charge, Sydney, Rear-Admiral Muirhead-Gould, kept all ferries going in an effort to keep the submarines down 'till daybreak'. However, it was not until 11.14 p.m. that an order to darken all ships was given.

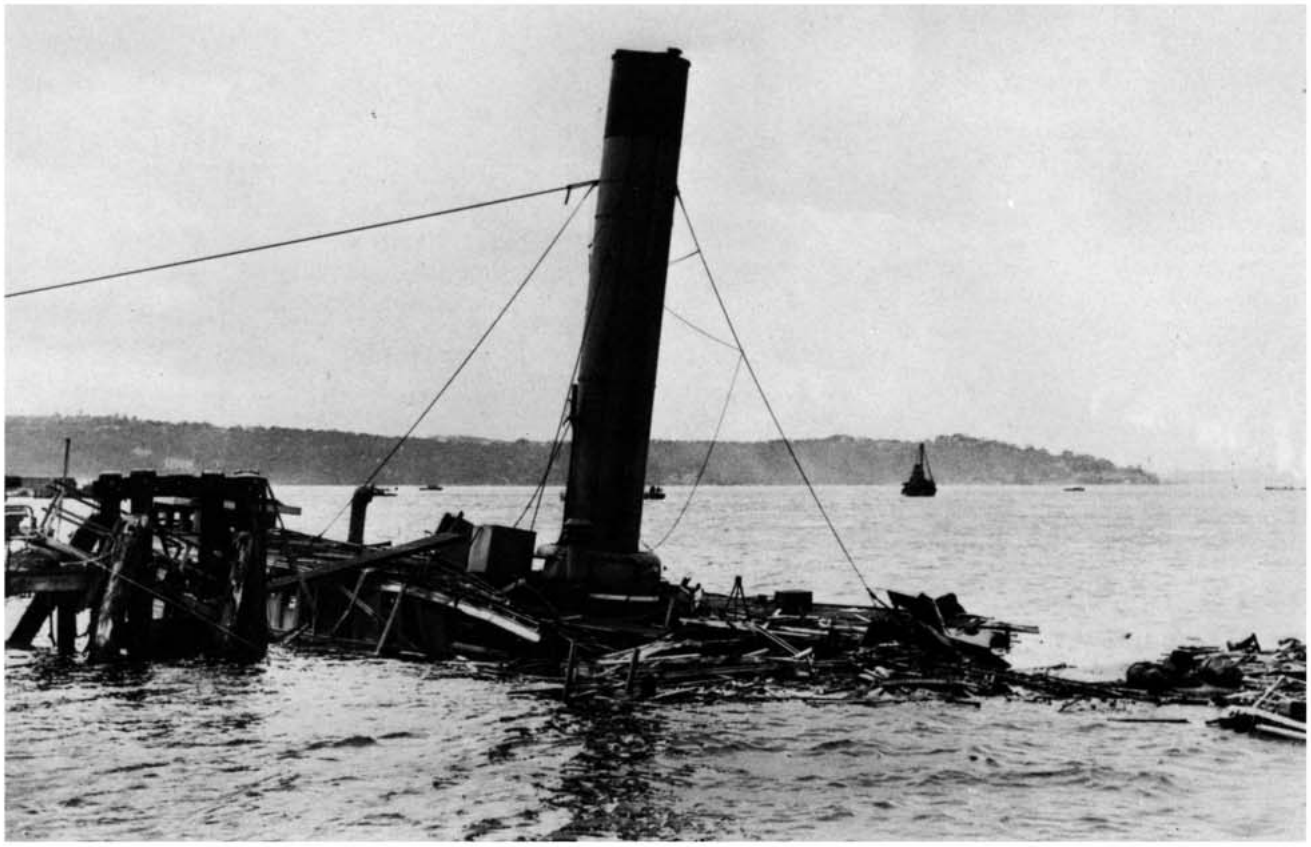
At 11.10 p.m. HMAS *Geelong* fired at midget 'A', which was in the process of taking up its firing position on the cruiser USS *Chicago*. Twenty minutes later Lieutenant Ban in midget 'A' fired his two torpedoes at the *Chicago*, both of which missed. One ran aground on Garden Island without exploding and the other struck the retaining wall underneath HMAS *Kuttabul*, a converted ferry being used as a depot ship. The explosion sent a column of water forty feet into the air and totally destroyed the stern of the *Kuttabul*, which started to settle on the harbour bottom, killing twenty ratings.

The game was up now. All ships proceeded to get under way — the US craft *Perkins* and *Chicago* plus the Australian ships *Canberra* and *Whyalla* were moving seawards.

At 1.58 a.m. midget 'A' left the Harbour after firing its torpedoes. The ultimate fate of this midget submarine has remained a mystery ever since. It was not recovered by its mother submarine and probably lies off Sydney Harbour to this day.

Another register was recorded on the Indicator Loop at 3.01 a.m. This was midget No. 21 entering the Harbour probably after recovering from a depth charge attack by *Yandra* some hours earlier. At this stage of the attack the defenders were well alert and after a number of fruitless searches at approximately 5.00 a.m. *Sea Mist* was alerted

HMAS *Kuttabul* was a converted harbour ferry being used as a depot ship.



to a suspicious object in Taylor Bay. Upon arrival *Sea Mist* illuminated the area and identified the object as a submarine. Next on the scene was *Yarroma* and *Steady Hour*. They then in turn attacked with depth charges until 8.27 a.m. when large amounts of oil and air bubbles were seen. *Steady Hour*, using her anchor, dragged Taylor Bay until it eventually found the hull of midget No. 21 lying on the harbour bottom.

The next day a diver was sent down to investigate the wreck and found the motors still turning slowly. A number of cables and slings were attached and finally on June 4 the submarine was brought to the surface. When the midget submarine was opened it was found that its two occupants had died of gunshot wounds to the head.

The bodies of the four dead Japanese were taken to Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney where they were cremated with full naval honours and their ashes returned to Japan via East Africa. A number of the bodies of the naval ratings from HMAS *Kuttabul* were also taken to Rookwood Cemetery where they too were buried with full naval honours.

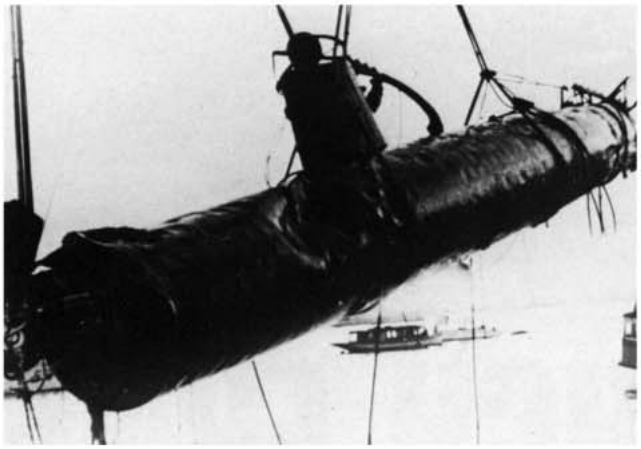
As a matter of interest, seventeen hours earlier, across the other side of the Indian Ocean, the port of Diego Suarez, on the island of Madagascar, was under attack by other Japanese midget submarines which succeeded in torpedoing the cargo ship *British Loyalty*, which sank, and the battleship HMS *Ramillies*, which was damaged. There were no Japanese survivors from these midget attacks either.

A complete submarine from the two recovered midget submarines (made up from the bow of No. 21 and the mid and stern sections of No. 14) was taken on a fund raising trip around parts of Australia until it reached its final resting place outside the Australian War Memorial where it is today.

In a final analysis of the attack it must be admitted that luck was on the side of the defenders, though they did recover well after the attack had commenced. But perhaps the most valuable lesson to be learnt was that the Allies were facing a resilient and determined enemy who was prepared to go to any lengths to accomplish his mission even if this meant certain death. It was a lesson that would be well learnt in the three years of war that lay ahead.

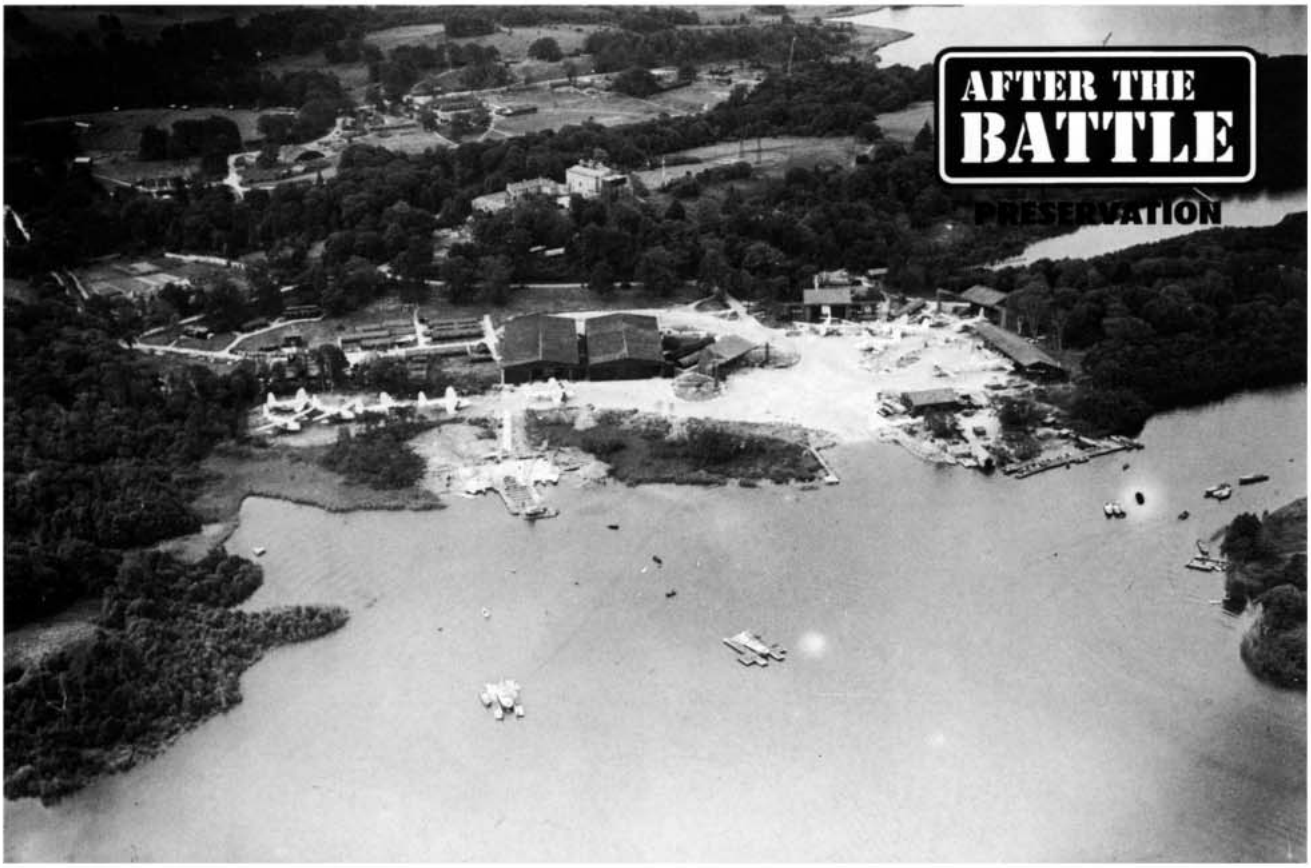
Midget 'A' commanded by Sub-Lieutenant Katsuhisa Ban with his crewman, Petty Officer Namori Ashibi, lined up on the cruiser USS *Chicago* from just in front of the headland visible in the background. They missed, hitting HMAS *Kuttabul*.

The casualties from HMAS *Kuttabul* were split between three sections of the Rookwood Cemetery, according to their religious denomination. This is the funeral of ratings in the Church of England section.



Midget 21 being raised at Taylor Bay, following her demise due to the attention of HMAS *Yarroma* and *Steady Hour*. The occupants, Lieutenant Kieu Matsuo and Petty Officer Masao Tsuzuku were found within, both shot through the head.

The final resting place of the composite midget submarine today outside the Australian War Memorial.



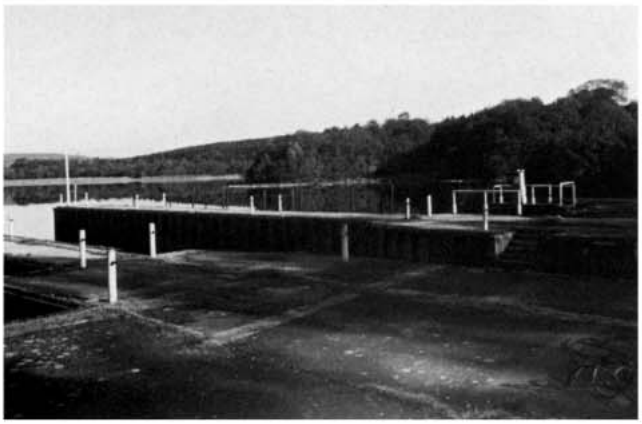
ALIGHT LOUGH ERNE

THE STORY OF A FLYING BOAT BASE

BY IAN HENDERSON

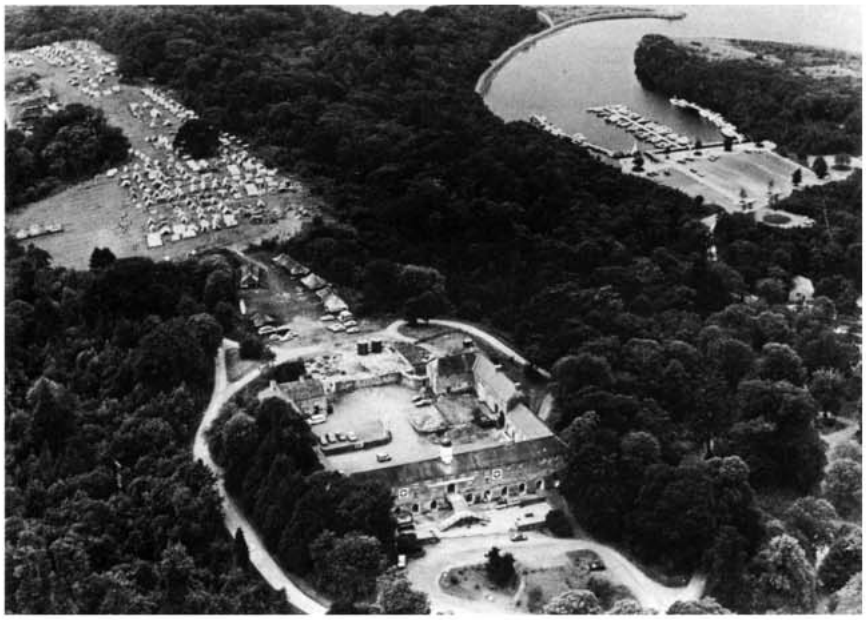
By late 1940 the Allies were in a dangerously critical position in the Battle of the Atlantic, with merchant shipping losses unacceptably high and the U-Boats having gained the upper hand. Air cover was one method of easing the U-Boat menace and the further into the Atlantic Coastal Command could extend its air umbrella the safer the convoys would become. The gap where no air cover from east or west existed had to be closed and that meant building airfields as far west as possible in the United Kingdom. For this reason an airfield building programme was commenced in Northern Ireland.

As well as land bases, a search began for more flying boat bases which had the advantage of little or no construction — of runways at least — hence the presence of a Short Grenadier Class flying boat over Lough Erne on Christmas Day 1940. No. 119 Squadron Special Duties Flight had been tasked to make a reconnaissance of Lough Erne, in County Fermanagh, and report on its suitability as a flying boat base, as it would provide an extra 100 miles of air cover over the squadrons currently sited at Loch Ryan in south-west Scotland. Ironically, the report by Flight Lieutenant Long and Flying Officer Frost was unfavourable, as the Lough was considered unsuitable for large flying boats operating at night or in bad weather. Nevertheless, the worsening war situation in the



Top: **Aerial photograph showing Castle Archdale's purpose-built flying boat dock under final construction.** *Above:* **The dock today remains almost totally intact — the unique shape, designed to fully service flying boats without taking them out of the water, can be clearly seen. Is it the only flying boat dock remaining in Europe today?**

Above: **Aerial view from 201 Squadron archives of Castle Archdale house and gardens taken in 1942.** *Below:* **Comparison picture, taken on the occasion of an International Scout Jamboree in 1983. Although the house itself was demolished after the war, the outbuildings have been restored. Now, part is a Youth Hostel and the remainder an exhibition area. Note also the marina development, top right.**



Atlantic led to work commencing to open the base within a month of this report.

One major problem had to be overcome for the base to be properly useful — the flying boats needed to go straight out into the Atlantic over Donegal Bay and hence over a strip of territory belonging to the neutral Irish Free State. Sir John Maffey, the UK representative to Eire, began a series of delicate negotiations with the Irish Prime Minister, Eamonn De Valera, and on January 21, 1941 received permission. It was a major breakthrough in Anglo-Irish relations at the time, and, because one condition was the secrecy of the agreement, it is not generally known or understood today. By January 27 the AOC of Coastal Command, Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Bowhill, had received from the Department of Operations (Naval Co-operation) the 'rules' which would govern the overflying arrangements. These were that flights over Eire territory were to be at a 'good height'; that the route over the Irish military fort at Finner was to be avoided; and that the arrangement was to be kept as secret as possible. It was hoped that this arrangement could be widened and Sir Frederick was instructed to make use of it as soon as possible. By February 5 No. 240 Squadron had begun to operate Lough Erne as an Advanced Base for its elderly Stranraer flying boats, the first sortie being mounted on the 6th.

What began in January 1941 as RAF Lough Erne became in January 1943 RAF Castle Archdale when No. 131 Operational Training Unit had become firmly established nearby at RAF Killadeas. In late 1944 roughly one hundred flying boats were based on the Lough, yet like all Coastal Command stations its crews tended to suffer monotonous patrols apparently achieving little.

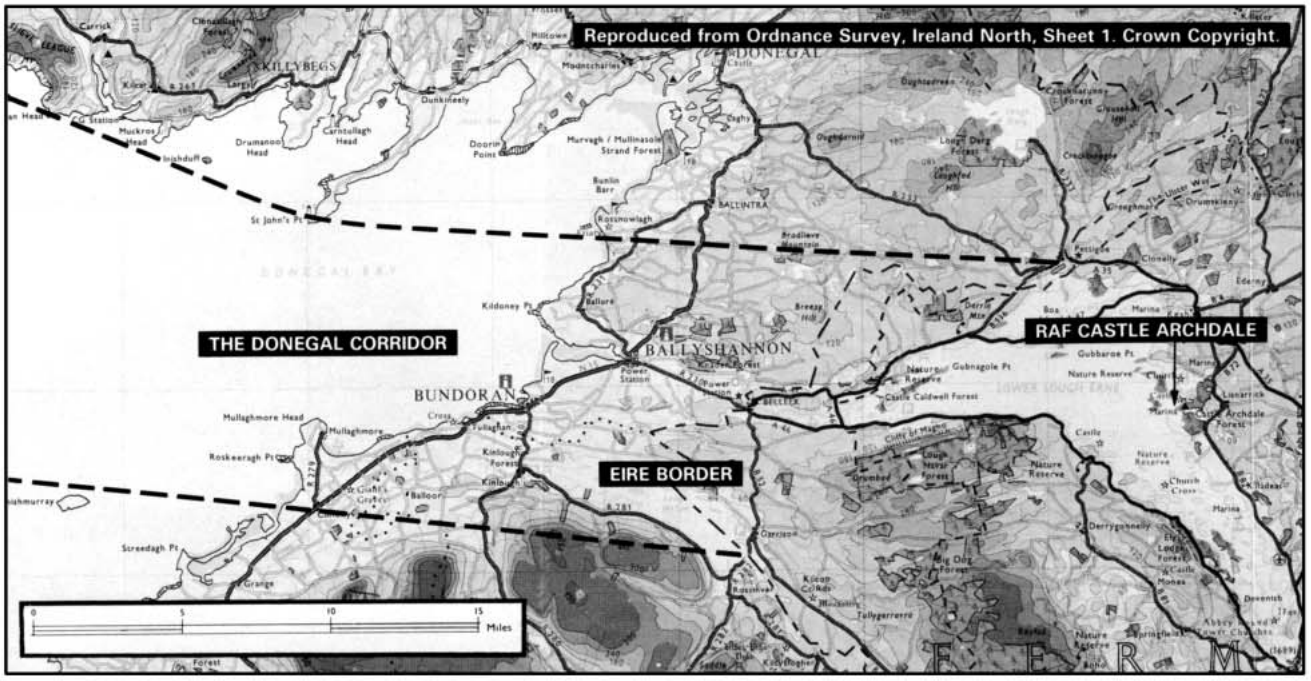
Lough Erne was earmarked as a US Navy flying boat base *(see After the Battle No. 34)* but due to the war in the Pacific the Americans did not take it over. However, the USA was involved in one of Lough Erne's earliest claims to fame when a Catalina of No. 209 Squadron, commanded by Pilot Officer Briggs, spotted the *Bismarck*. At the controls too was Ensign Smith of the US Navy who had been posted to Lough Erne to help the RAF learn about their new Catalinas. At the time the *Bismarck* was sighted, the USA was of course still neutral and Ensign Smith's involvement naturally remained a secret for many years.

Many of the RAF's well-known Coastal Command squadrons spent time at Castle Archdale — Nos. 201, 202, 209, 228, 240 as well as two Canadian squadrons, Nos. 422 and 423 who were to spend much of the war in County Fermanagh. In the Operational Record Book of No. 422 Squadron a poem is preserved which sets out those Canadians' feelings on their return to Northern Ireland:

> Just like some wayward prodigals
> Their life to start anew
> Back to Castle Archdale came
> The men of 422.
>
> We didn't mind the rain and mud
> Fermanagh isn't Devon
> But after what we'd seen last year
> Lough Erne was simply heaven.

Left: **The seat of the Archdale family for generations became in 1942 Station Headquarters. Note the flying control windows and other equipment installed on the roof.** *Right:* **Today, just an empty plot where the house once stood.**

Archdale house was too far removed from the flarepaths to be effective as a control tower, so a purpose-built tower on stilts was constructed on Gay Island in the middle of the Lough. The shuttering for the supports were crudely constructed of oil drums filled with concrete. Although the tower itself has since been dismantled, the legs are still in situ, a novel, yet long lasting, form of memorial.



The fact that aircraft from Castle Archdale had to fly over Donegal Bay and Irish Free State territory to reach the open Atlantic presented a major problem; solved by delicate negotiations with the Irish premier, Eamonn de Valera, in 1941.

Short Sunderlands of either No. 422 or 423 Squadron sit outside the flying boat pens. Photograph from the Canadian Government Photograph Centre. Today Castle Archdale Country Park utilises the old landstandings as a major caravan site.

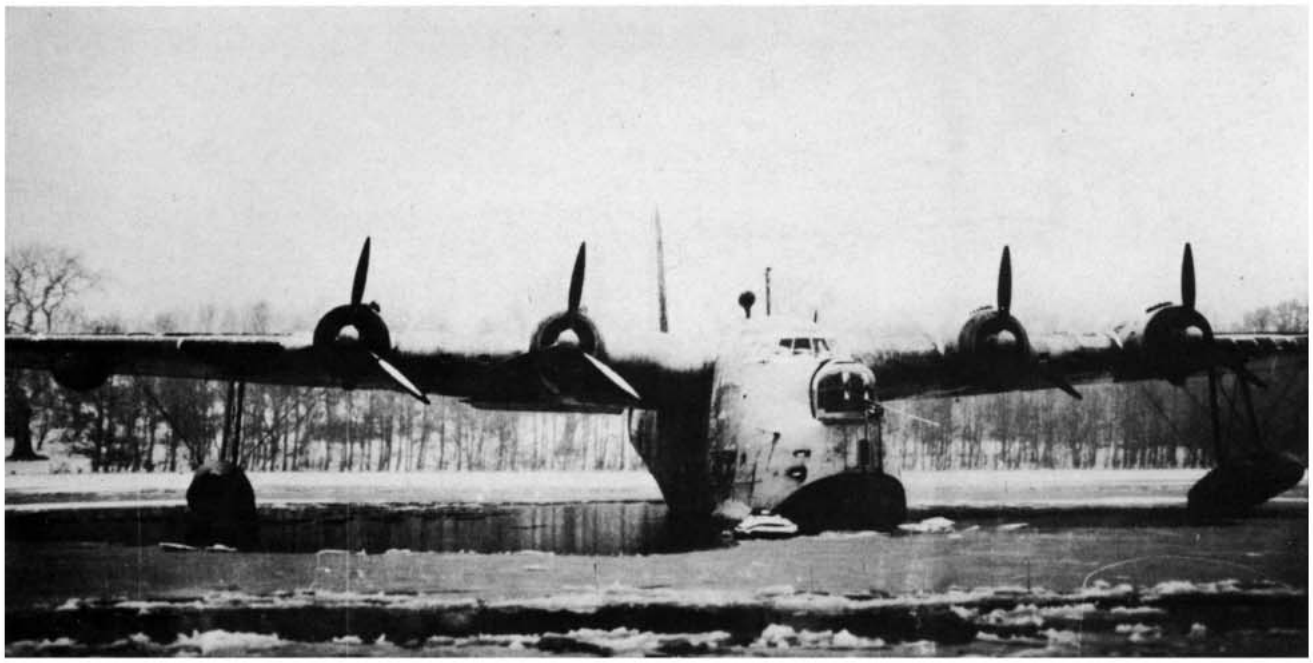
At times Castle Archdale was so overcrowded with pilots that conditions became close to unbearable. Many officers lived in a swampy part of the camp known as 'skunk hollow'. There the 'misappropriated Airmen's Huts' had a sign which read: 'SKUNK HOLLOW — DRIVE LIKE HELL — NO OBSEEN LANGUAGE — NO WIMMIN — NO NUTHIN!'

Like many RAF stations, Castle Archdale maintained a vigorous social life in between patrols, and parties, dances, sports and entertainments helped while away the days. The Canadian airmen even boycotted the Airmen's Mess for a day in a protest against the poor food — and won their case. But on the positive side some local hostelries could provide steak and eggs brought across the Border!

Training for anti-submarine duties was carried out at the Anti-U-Boat school at RNAS Maydown near Londonderry. Air exercises were planned jointly with the escorts and submarines based at Londonderry, and aircrew could go to sea to experience 'the other side'. One development greeted with some scepticism in late 1944 was the arrival of the Type 70 trainer for Mark III radar. Instead of the scanner being on the wing of an aircraft, it was located in a tank of water at the bottom of which was a miniature island of Ireland. The effect of the water reduced the radar pick-up to an infinitesimal proportion of the response in the air. This trainer and the Link trainer were to be combined so that the pilot and radar operator could work together.

For much of the war a major patrol area of the Castle Archdale flying boats was the Iceland-Faeroes gap known as the 'Moorings' area — or, to the U-Boats, the 'Rosengarten'. This was a box 120 miles wide by 120 miles long and each aircraft flew six legs up and down searching at first visually and later on radar. It was monotonous and apparently fruitless work but a signal received in October 1943 from HQ Coastal Command by No. 423 Squadron indicates its importance:

'The lack of sightings in the Moorings area indicates that the enemy is using extreme caution and tactics in that region at the expense of his batteries and regardless of the length of time taken. Recent PoWs confirm that they were finally forced to surface when



In January 1945 the Lough was completely frozen over, necessitating the speedy beaching of all aircraft to prevent their hulls being crushed by the ice. Here a 201 Squadron machine is about to be rescued from what is today dry land!

through the Rosengarten, and when sighted by Icelantic aircraft were unable to submerge again, both crews and batteries exhausted. The value of these continuous patrols is considerable so crews should know that their apparently unprofitable patrols have contributed greatly to recent successes further West.'

Not all patrols were unsuccessful and Castle Archdale crews' share of success increased as the months and years passed, and investigation indicates that it is likely that nine U-Boats were sunk by Sunderlands based on Lough Erne — the first in March 1943 and the last in April 1945.

U-456, the submarine that had sunk HMS *Edinburgh*, met its end in May 1943 and the kill was shared by G-George of No. 423 Squadron. No. 201 Squadron is likely to have sunk three submarines while at Castle Archdale, No. 422 Squadron one, and No. 423 Squadron five. In March 1944 Flight Lieutenant Butler and Warrant Officer Morton of No. 422 Squadron caught *U-625* with six depth-charges. The submarine resurfaced and an hour and a half later signalled 'Fine Bombing' to the circling Sunderland. Perhaps the most unusual incident of all was the attack on *U-489* by Flying Officer Bishop of No. 423 Squadron in August 1943. This resulted in the U-Boat being sunk and the Sunderland shot down with five crew being killed. At one stage before HMS *Castleton* arrived to pick up both Canadians and Germans, members from each crew were floating in the Atlantic some 100 yards apart!

The loss of an aircraft was not unusual but rarely was it caused by enemy action. Fatigue

Left: **Close study of this picture indicates that construction work was still continuing in 1943, at least around the slipway area. (IWM)** *Right:* **Today the landing stage is strictly for the non-flying sort of boat!**

of aircraft or the hazards of alighting on rough water were more normally the causes. At least fifteen aircraft from Castle Archdale were destroyed with fatalities and at least double that number damaged. Flying boat crashes seemed to have their own tragic causes such as the propeller that flew off and lodged in the starboard float rendering the Sunderland uncontrollable; the aircraft that ran aground while taxiing at night due to a shortage of night buoys; the aircraft that flew straight into a flat glassy sea; the Sunderland that alighted on the rough open sea after jettisoning its depth charges but left the bomb doors open; and the Mk II Sunderland which by 1945 had had so many cylinder changes that an engine crankcase had become weakened leading to an explosion and fire.

At war's end the flying boats at Castle Archdale escorted the surrendered U-Boats into Loch Eriboll and Londonderry. The final sortie came on June 4, 1945 — in fact the final war sortie for the whole of Coastal Command — when Sunderland Z201 commanded by Wing Commander Barrett, DSO, and crewed by a composite group of Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians and Britons escorted an inbound convoy of 51 vessels.

By early August 1945 the operational squadrons had left Fermanagh and on August 18 the Closing Down establishment was brought into effect. Life returned for a brief few days in December 1945 when a detachment of No. 201 Squadron came back to play its part in Operation 'Deadlight' *(see After the Battle No. 36)*.

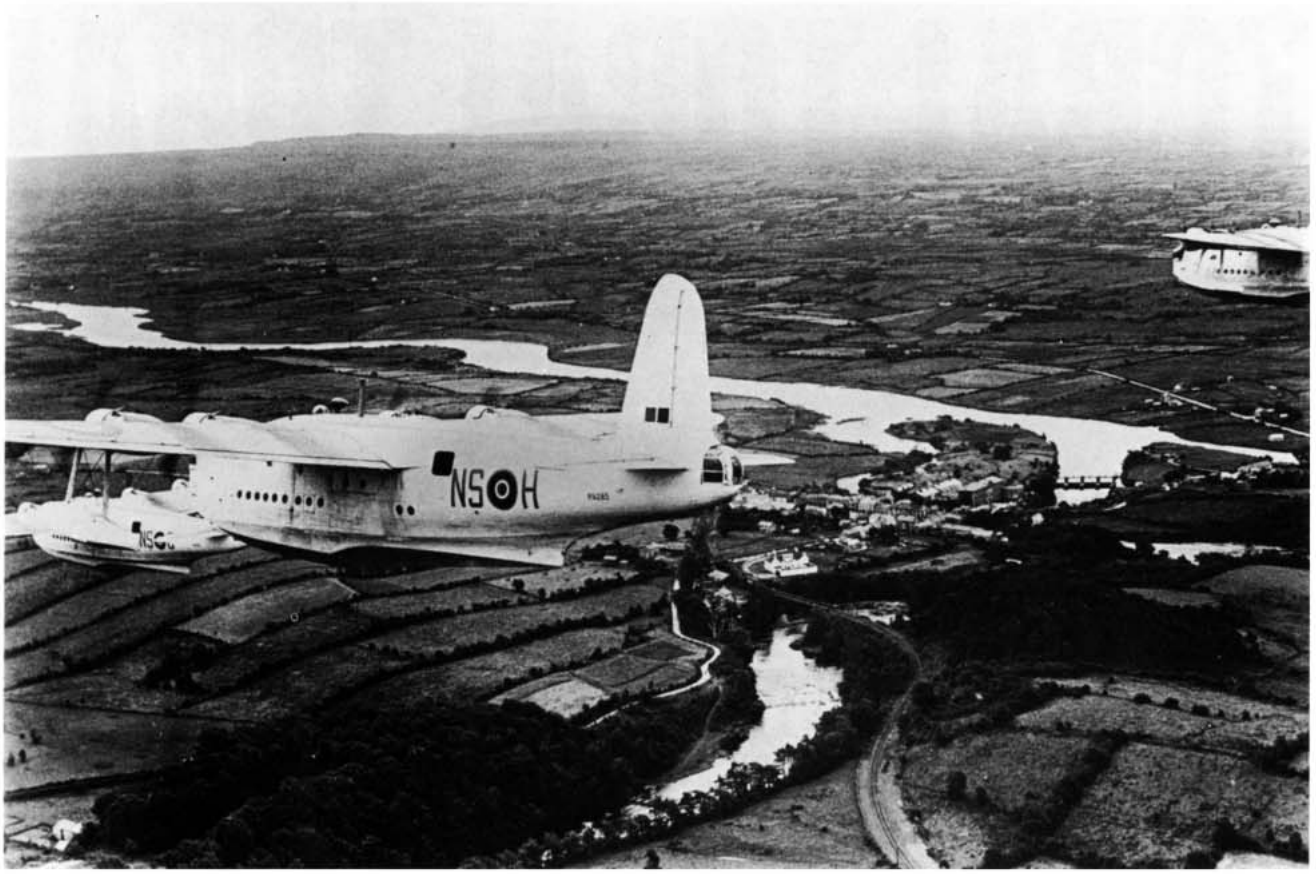
Inevitably war brought its victims. Losses at sea usually meant that remains were seldom recovered. Far too many crews died in accidental crashes and many of the casualties can be found in the Church of Ireland cemetery in naerby Irvinestown.

CASTLE ARCHDALE TODAY

Lough Erne is now the leading holiday waterway in Northern Ireland and one of the most beautiful and unspoilt in the British Isles. Where the Sunderlands roared one now finds cabin cruisers and fishing dinghies. Ironically the Lough is most popular for cruising with the West Germans, whereas many British people are regrettably slow to savour it.

Castle Archdale is now a thriving holiday centre, and is both a Country Park, and a Caravan Park with a purpose-built marina. The house itself was demolished after the war due to structural damage, but the outbuildings and courtyard have been splendidly restored. In one of these, in June 1985, a permanent exhibition 'An Extra 100 Miles — Castle Archdale at War' was opened by the Department of the Environment Conservation Branch who are responsible for the Country Park. The exhibition has aroused much interest in the wartime heritage and highlighted many a story which has generally been forgotten. It has also brought to light many artefacts hidden in lofts and barns. The exhibition is open from spring to autumn, and the Warden — Ian Braund — and Deputy Warden — Neil Donaldson — will be glad to talk to visitors, especially anyone who served at Castle Archdale — as there are still gaps in the history to be filled in.

Rumours abound of sunken aircraft that could be brought to the surface and restored, but hard evidence is hard to come by. A flying boat would be most appropriate — to see a Sunderland or Catalina once more respond to the signal so familiar in WWII: 'ALIGHT LOUGH ERNE!'



This rare shot was taken in August 1945 as 201 Squadron prepared to leave Castle Archdale. The picture shows the last flight down the Donegal Corridor, and the Sunderlands are just about to leave Irish airspace and re-enter Northern Ireland. In the centre of the village, behind the tail of NS-H, is the world famous Belleek Pottery.

TORA! TORA! TORA!

With the exception of the Fourth of July, no date in American history has received more attention than December 7, 1941 — when the Japanese attacked the US Navy at Pearl Harbor and plunged the United States into World War II.

Many films have been made featuring the surprise attack as a dramatic backdrop for their stories — but Twentieth Century Fox's 1970 production *Tora! Tora! Tora!*, was the first to tell the story as it happened from both sides — and the first film about the Japanese war made jointly by the former enemies.

The earliest was a Japanese propaganda film produced for home consumption not long after the attack. Others were *Remember Pearl Harbor*, *Air Force* and *From Here to Eternity*. Then Japan produced *I Bombed Pearl Harbor* — dealing with the time after the attack to the key battle of Midway.

With *Tora! Tora! Tora!*, Darryl F. Zanuck set out to duplicate his 1962 box-office success *The Longest Day (see After the Battle No. 4)* using the same pseudo-documentary style with the cross-cutting of scenes between the opposing forces as the action builds up. The Japanese were to speak Japanese with sub-titles and every effort was to be made to obtain historical accuracy.

The film was to differ, however, in one vital aspect and one which had to be answered to justify its making: whereas D-Day was an Allied victory, Zanuck was now preparing to present the story of the 'day of infamy' — America's greatest defeat. Would Americans want to be reminded and, indeed, pay to be reminded of such an event? Zanuck answered his critics thus: 'Audiences may not think they are waiting for *Tora! Tora! Tora!* but audiences never know what they want until it's put in front of them.' Nevertheless, even after the decision was made by Twentieth Century Fox to go ahead with the production, Zanuck had to take out full-page advertisements in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* to justify the portrayal of an American defeat.

Elmo Williams was brave enough to agree to produce the film, already the subject of controversy and criticism, and to defend the decision to make two separate films — one in Japan and one shot mostly in Hawaii — and to edit the two together into one integrated film. Williams organised two entirely separate production units — one for Hawaii under director Richard Fleischer with American technicians and cast; and one for filming in Japan under directors Toshio Masuda and Kinji Fukasaku, with associate producer Otto Lang, and Japanese crew and cast.

When it was first proposed to make such a film and the co-operation of the Japanese government was sought, the idea stunned the Japanese, both in the motion picture industry and in the business world. People in all walks of life were horrified and took the attitude: 'why rake over old coals?' Retired military officers and veterans of the war viewed the idea with suspicion, fearing Japan would once again be vilified before the entire world. Upon reflection, however, people realized that many years had passed . . . the enemies were now friends and allies . . . and the momentary triumph of Pearl Harbor that was later turned into tragedy for Japan was a story that should be told.

It was on the latter note that the concept of making *Tora! Tora! Tora!* was accepted by the authorities and the joint effort proceeded — with a mutual agreement that both screenplays would tell both stories as they happened, without embellishment.

Minoru Genda, the young commander given the responsibility for planning the raid, and at the time the film was planned a member of the Japanese Diet, aptly described the goal of the film-makers: 'I would hope we have all reached a level of intelligence and understanding where nations can treat history as it happened'.

According to Japanese film trade publications, no other film in the history of that nation's industry received 'such elaborate and meticulous research'. Poring over government records, examining old photographs, consulting with the family of the late Admiral Yamamoto, digging out the plans and specifications for the naval aircraft, tracing the marine architect's blueprints for the battleship *Nagato* and *Akagi*, researchers delved into every possible facet of the period to meet official Tokyo demands that the film be authentic.

The leading Japanese roles were assigned to Soh Yamamura, portraying Admiral

Flight of fancy. A group of Zero fighters, alias AT-6 Texans (or Harvards, as they were known to the RAF) over Oahu. The transformation was achieved by adding wheel covers, modified cowlings and rounded wing tips together with new canopies.

Yamamoto; to Takahiro Tamura, as Lieutenant-Commander Mitsuo Fuchida, and to Tatsuya Mihashi as Commander Minoru Genda.

Sources for the film were books by two military historians: *Tora! Tora! Tora!* by Dr. Gordon W. Prange, professor of history at the University of Maryland and formerly a member on the Tokyo staff of General Douglas MacArthur; and *The Broken Seal* by Ladislas Farago, which is basically an account of the breaking of the Japanese code prior to the attack. (Farago was also the author of the best selling biography, *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* on which Twentieth Century-Fox's *Patton* was based in 1970 — *see After the Battle No. 7.*)

One of the most troublesome problems proved to be locating authentic and usable Japanese aircraft of the type that attacked Pearl Harbor — the Mitsubishi 'Zeros', and the Aichi 'Vals', and Nakajima 'Kates'. A survey of Pacific islands showed that there were hardly enough of these left from which parts could be salvaged to construct airworthy samples of these fighters for filming the attack. Since it was obviously too expensive to duplicate the Japanese aircraft by fabricating new ones, it was decided to modify and convert existing types of American aircraft and to do it with planes that could be put into the air safely.

American aircraft of that period were comparatively easy to obtain. For the P-40s that were able to take off during the attack, two were found and put into safe operating condition. To recreate the flight of B-17s coming in from the States that morning during the height of the attack, authentic B-17s were readily available since they were still used extensively in fighting forest fires. After five of these were found, it was learned one had actually been General MacArthur's personal aircraft during the war.

At Barber's Point Naval Air Station, where the 'Tora Air Force' was based and maintained, thirty 'Japanese' aircraft were assembled, modified from AT-6 (Navy SNJ) and BT-13 trainers. The North American AT-6 Texan was converted into the Zeke (Zero) Japanese fighter, while the Vultee BT-13 'Vibrator' was renovated into the Japanese Val dive-bomber and a combination of AT-6s and BT-13s were modified into the Kate torpedo-bomber.

The 'Tora Air Force' also consisted of twenty other flyable aircraft — two P-40 Curtis Warkhawks, a Consolidated Catalina PBY navy patrol bomber, the P-51 North American Mustangs, a Stearman biplane (World War II primary trainer) an SNJ Navy trainer, a Bell Jet Ranger helicopter, the six mentioned B-17 Flying Fortresses and six modified AT-6s and BT-13s utilized in the Japanese production. The chopper served as the main flying camera platform while the PBY and SNJ also filled in on camera duties.

One of the major headaches for the filmmakers was their long struggle to persuade the US Defense Department to provide an aircraft carrier to restage the Japanese take-off and landing sequences. Because most war films require some form of military facility, Pentagon assistance is usually paramount to the successful staging and re-creation of battles in America for the cinema. Twentieth Century Fox had kept the Defense Department informed of the progress of the project since its inception in September 1966, any official co-operation being congnisant on approval of the script and full reimbursement by the film company of expenses incurred in providing the facilities or equipment required. In this case, Fox not only had to convince the Department of the merit of providing a US carrier to double as a Japanese warship but also had to overcome the safety criteria. The Department wrote: 'Flight deck crews perform demanding and hazardous duties under the best conditions, and to require them to work with old equipment with which they are unfamiliar would add unacceptable risks for them and the pilots'.

The argument was still not resolved by 1968 when filming was due to commence; although the US Navy were in favour, the Defense Department Public Affairs Office was concerned over the uproar that would result if a serviceman was killed during the filming. In the end, Elmo Williams, the producer, agreed to eliminate the need to film landings — potentially more dangerous than take-offs — and the landing of Fuchida's Zero was re-created by clever editing in the cutting room.

By November 1968 the Pentagon agreed to provide the USS *Yorktown*, which was already scheduled to take part in the Apollo space recovery programme in the Pacific, with certain conditions. Only qualified carrier pilots would be permitted to operate the aircraft and thirty were assembled at El Toro

The Kate torpedo-bombers were created by combining parts from ten Texans and ten BT-13 Vultee Vibrators.

Marine Air Base near Los Angeles to familiarise themselves with the reconstructed propeller-driven aircraft before thirty planes were loaded aboard the *Yorktown* at San Diego. In addition, the company would have to pay normal freight rates for the transport of the aircraft to Hawaii.

After two days rehearsal, the actual take-off sequence was filmed in the dawn light of December 4 using twenty-nine aircraft — memorable footage which was later duplicated for use in the film *Midway*, and more recently in the TV series *Pearl*. The problem of using a modern carrier was cleverly disguised although the angled flight deck is visible in one shot.

By the time the carrier reached Hawaii, Elmo Williams had all the footage he desired and was ready to begin the major scenes on Oahu. Forty-one pilots, most of whom had more than 4,000 flying hours logged, were chosen from some 250 applicants to fly the aircraft in Hawaii. Twenty-four of them were the Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps airmen taking leave to fly in *Tora!*, three were civilian pilots, with the others having had previous military service, some being members of the Hawaii National Air Guard. They earned $180 a day but the opportunity to fly the veteran aircraft was no doubt an even greater incentive.

On the day filming in Hawaii started in earnest, January 20, 1969, the American pilots, clad in brown, fur-collared Japanese flying suits, waddled out to the replicas of the Nippon aircraft. Air Operations Director Art Wildern (a retired Air Force Lieutenant Colonel) then led the thirty 'Japanese' planes on flights up and down the ocean sides of Oahu, over pineapple and sugar cane fields and the famed Kolekole Pass. All six of the actual routes taken by Japanese airmen on December 7, 1941 were flown and reflown, again and again, to reconstruct the dawn and early morning flights of the two-wave, 352-plane assault air force. And with these flights, the Bell Jet Ranger helicopter constantly hovered above, around and below, filming the massed formations from every possible angle. The aerial sequences took more than two weeks to complete and altogether the flying programme cost $2,500,000.

A line up of the sizeable mechanised stable of period vehicles assembled for the film, headed by a 1940s Mercury coupé.

The Defense Department had agreed to provide several of the original locations for the filming and sets were constructed simulating Hickam Field and Ford Island Naval Air Base as they were prior to December 7. Likewise a renovation programme was undertaken at Wheeler Air Force Base. Elmo Williams estimated that approximately 500 technicians, most of them hired locally, were employed to accomplish all the pre-production construction phase, and to collect the large fleet of vehicles, along with fabrication of a vast assortment of props.

The vehicle fleet provided a great deal of interest. It consisted of about twenty-five pre-1941 motor cars and about fifty-five Army and/or Navy vehicles (painted from Army olive drab to grey and vice-versa, depending on scene needs). These included jeeps, command and staff cars, ambulances, weapon carriers, buses, motorcycles, trucks of all types — fire trucks, tow trucks, crane, wrecker, bomb carrier and disposal vehicles and even civilian lorries.

At the same time several other construction projects were under way in order to complete the overall operations of the Hawaiian production phase. These included the building of the aft section of the USS *Arizona*, in full scale, on a pair of barges moored close to the spot where she had been in 1941. However, Williams had to resort to the use of miniatures to build up the strength of his fleet, the cost of all the mock-ups (including those in Japan) coming to $3,500,000.

Commander Minoru Genda, played by Tatsuya Mihashi, is welcomed aboard the aircraft carrier *Akagi* in readiness for the preparation of the attack plans. Genda was to become Chief of Staff after the war.

THE JAPANESE SCENES

Cameras first rolled in Japan on a bright morning in March 1969, at Ashiya Air Force Base, located midway between Fukuoka and Kokura on Kyushu Island. There on the beach three-quarters of the 35,000-ton Japanese carrier *Akagi*, Admiral Nagumo's flagship for the Pearl Harbor attack, had been reconstructed full-scale. Parallel and two thousand yards away in Kagoshima Bay, the full-sized battleship *Nagato*, flagship of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, loomed against low mountains, her prow to the sea. *Nagato*, 660ft in length, and ten storeys high, constructed from the original plans, was the largest film set ever built in Japan.

The original *Akagi*, converted from a battle-cruiser hull, was sunk by American naval aircraft during the Battle of Midway in 1942. The 39,000-ton *Nagato* survived the war but was sunk at Bikini in 1946 as the result of atomic bomb tests.

Scenes filmed on the *Akagi's* deck included pre-dawn preparations for the take-off to bomb Pearl Harbor with her complement of aircraft revved up. *Nagato* became the focal point for scenes involving Admiral Yamamoto's change of command ceremony on relieving Admiral Zengo Yoshida as Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Fleet in 1939. She saw many other days of filming. On *Nagato's* quarterdeck, Yamamoto argued for his plan to attack and destroy the United States Pacific fleet; on her foredeck, Yamamoto watched his torpedo planes carry out exercises in the summer of 1941; and at her rail, staring out to sea, the Admiral came to realize what destruction he was soon to unleash.

Weather conditions were severe during most of the Kyushu location, and cherry blossoms were a little late in appearance.

Takahiro Tamura as Lieutenant-Commander Mitsuo Fuchida, C-in-C First Air Fleet.

Rain and snow often lashed the huge ship sets and on many days the company was forced inside into the inner hull of *Akagi* where several 'cover' sets had been built. One was a Shinto shrine as pilots aboard the real *Akagi* had prayed before such a shrine in the pre-dawn hours of December 7, 1941.

Morning after morning, buses bearing high school and college students ground over the sandy road from Ashiya to the ship sets. The students were drawn from schools throughout Kyushu to portray sailors and junior officers of *Nagato* and *Akagi*. Filming in 'The Year of The Hip', it was necessary to pay some of the students a bonus in order to get them to cut their long hair.

The production complex at Ashiya included a catering hall for the feeding of upwards

The politicians: Japanese Ambassador Nomura (played by Shogo Shimada), US Secretary of State Cordell Hull (George Macready) and Henry L. Stimson (Joseph Cotton).

The military: Lieutenant General Walter C. Short (played by Jason Robards) briefs two of his subordinates on the deteriorating situation.

of 1,200 extras a day; a wardrobe building to costume officers, enlisted men and pilots in 1940-period uniforms; a small production building to house director Masuda's staff, and a storage and maintenance area for the twenty-one aircraft of *Akagi* and *Soryu*.

Near the complex was still another set, an interior duplicating *Akagi's* hanger deck. When they were en route to Hawaiian waters, pilots and bombardiers of the carriers practised dummy bombing runs by dragging rubber sheets beneath bomb sights. Targets were painted on the sheets, and twelve full-sized aircraft became the 'set decoration' for this unusual interior.

The *Tora* filming village became a major tourist attraction in the spring weeks of 1969 and an estimated five thousand visitors arrived each weekend, some travelling as many as 500 miles to see the huge ship sets and watch the activity on the beach.

In Japan there were forty-five mock-up aircraft in B-17, P-40 and PBY models, including fifteen Japanese configuration planes, all for set dressing purposes. The American mock-ups were destroyed in re-staging the attack. Other scenes were filmed in Tokyo and at Toei-Kyoto and Shochiku Studios, Kyoto.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

Almost thirty years after it happened — the 'day of infamy,' took place all over again when a fleet of 'Japanese' aircraft swooped down several times over Pearl Harbor to re-enact the devastating raid of December 7, 1941. On December 7, 1968 Hawaiians saw a rather unfamiliar sight when a flight of six World War II B-17 Flying Fortresses glided smoothly 500 feet above Pearl Harbor's South Channel. One by one the bombers peeled off in line astern formation into a 180-degree turn as they soared around for their final approach in landing at Pearl's Ford Island Naval Air Station.

Suddenly a swarm of smaller aircraft, large red circles gleaming on their wings and fuselages, zoomed in on the lumbering bombers. But the B-17s held their course, gliding down slowly in their graceful descent. The small fighter planes darted in quickly on the bombers, fire flashing from leading edges of their wings, raking the larger aircraft from nose to tail. A B-17 suddenly burst into flames, exploding into a huge fireball.

Again and again the small fighters arched up and swooped over the bombers, which started touching-down one after the other and rolling down the runway, seeking parking areas and trying desperately to avoid their attackers. Several fighters now strafed some parked P-40 Curtis Warhawks and two of the P-40s blazed into red-white clouds of

The 1968 attacking force flies exactly the same route taken by its 1941 predecessors.

fire. Then the fighters broke off the attack, zooming up over the airfield, orbiting and forming into a large V formation.

On the ground, a big crowd clustered about a large truck and crane. A man on the radio said slowly:

'Tora Red Leader, this is Tora FAC.'

'Go ahead, Tora FAC. Tora Leader here,' the radio sputtered.

'Tora Red Leader, you are A-okay — you are okay. Mission successful. Maintain orbit while we check next sequence. Over.'

'Roger, Tora FAC, we'll hold the orbit. Over.'

All of this was part of turning back the clock on history at Pearl Harbor, with the Zero fighters attacking the B-17s just part of the story, and the voice-over-action radio dialogue a daily chore in maintaining constant communications between the director (who used an FAC — Forward Air Controller — as his aide), the main camera crew, a second ground camera unit, and a third camera crew flying in a helicopter to capture footage from the air.

The old planes went up on their last flights in late April, 1969 with the strikes against 'Battleship Row', recreating the final dramatic moments of the USS *Arizona*. The pilots then scattered back to their civilian jobs and active duty posts.

It had been a rather strange war, this 'second air battle' of Hawaii. Chilling, at times. Commented Buck Buckwach, editor of the *Honolulu Advertiser*: 'Sometimes it seemed too real. It was comforting to know those were American pilots up there this time'.

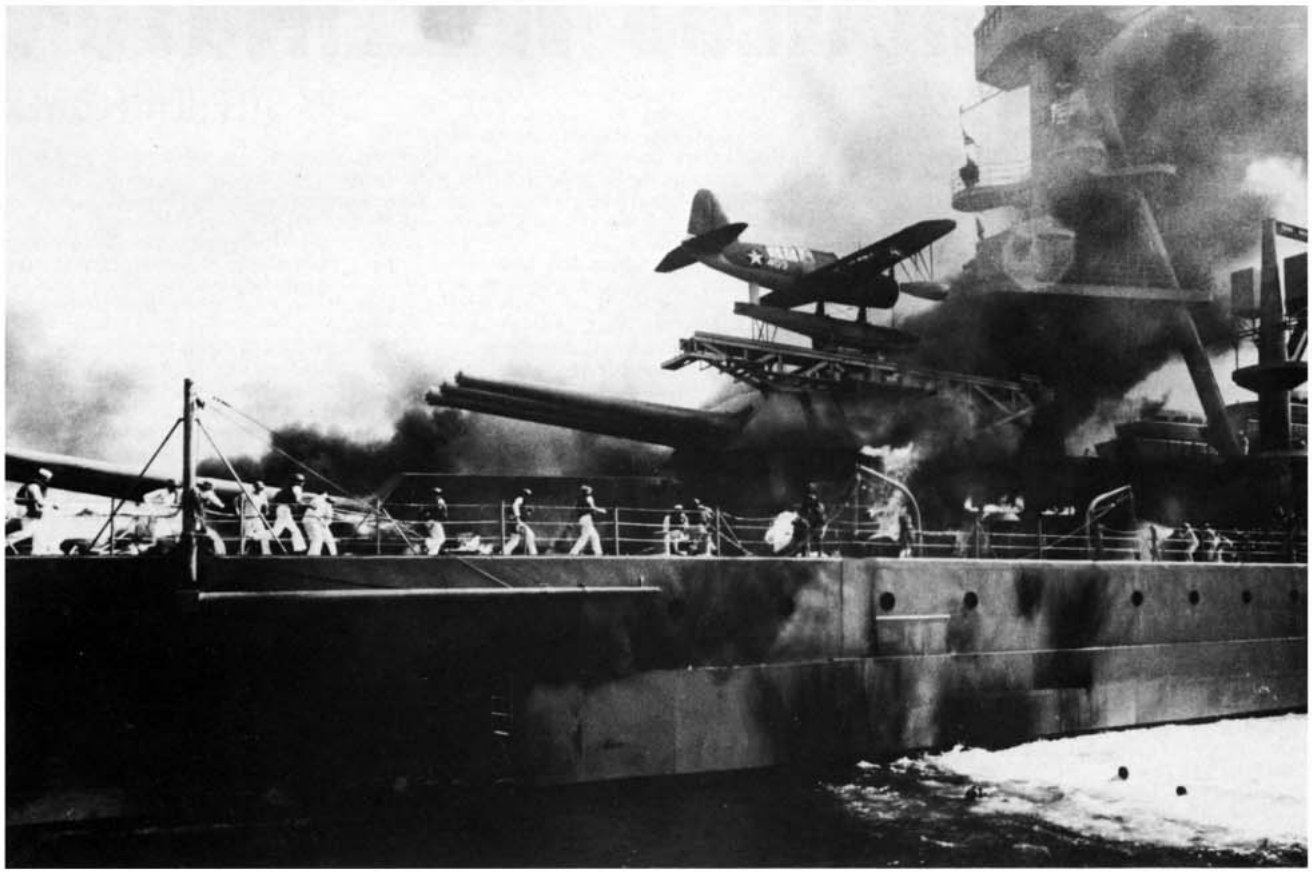
The screenplay of *Tora! Tora! Tora!* by Larry Forrester, Hideo Oguni and Ryuzo Kikushima traces the story from September 1, 1939 aboard the *Akagi* as Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto takes over as commander-in-chief of the Japanese Navy. It then unfolds in Japan, Washington and Hawaii, at the highest levels of government and military command, as both nations veer inexorably towards war. It is climaxed at 0749 hours of

that fateful morning when Commander Fuchida screamed into his inter-com, 'To! To! To!' (Attack! Attack! Attack!)

'Tora! Tora! Tora! in Japanese means 'Tiger! Tiger! Tiger! This was the code signal flashed by Lieutenant Mitsuo Fuchida back to the Japanese carrier *Akagi* to signify his attack squadron had achieved complete surprise in the strike against Pearl Harbor.

Dominating the final forty minutes of the film is the attack sequence — all the more realistic with the destruction of the full-size replica *Arizona* and the replica aircraft. Several critics have, however, written disparagingly about the inter-cutting with models photographed in the lake at the Fox studios against painted backdrops which, to their mind, completely spoils the illusion. To be fair, Elmo Williams and Twentieth Century Fox spent $25,000,000 and four years preparing and making the film and every conceivable effort was made to recreate the attack with authenticity.

The film ends as Japan gains a spectacular, but only fleeting victory over American forces. Admiral Yamamoto, architect of the strike, Harvard educated, and a man who went to war against the United States with reluctance, realises the treachery of the act and comments: 'All we have done is to awaken a sleeping giant and fill him with a terrible resolve.'



THE LOCH NESS WELLINGTON

BY STEPHEN FLOWER

Of all the wartime bombers used by the RAF, few could be said to have had as distinguished a career as the Vickers Wellington. Built in greater numbers than any other British bomber, it was the only one to be in continuous production and service throughout the war, being used by Bomber, Coastal and Transport Commands from 1937 until the 1950s. However, like many other famous aircraft, it all but disappeared in the post-war years, the survivors being scrapped, with only one Mark X, MF628, being retained for display in the Bomber Command Museum at Hendon. Just one out of 11,461 aircraft. However, until recently no-one knew that another Wellington had survived, in so unusual a location that nobody was likely to find it except by accident. . . .

N2980, a Wellington Mark 1A, had been built at the Vickers factory at Weybridge in Surrey in November 1939 and test flown on the 16th by Mutt Summers, Vickers' chief test pilot. Flown to RAF Mildenhall in Suffolk, the aircraft was taken on charge by No. 149 Squadron on the 20th and allocated the individual letter R.

On December 3, in answer to the demands of Winston Churchill, then First Sea Lord, Bomber Command mounted a daylight attack on the German island fortress of Heligoland, Nos. 38, 45 and 149 Squadrons providing twenty-four Wellingtons between them. N2980, on its first operation, was flown by Flight Lieutenant J. B. Stewart, a Canadian, leading a section of three aircraft. Attacks on German civilian targets were forbidden during the 'Phoney War' period and consequently the crews were briefed to attack any enemy vessels found in the target area. Flight Lieutenant Stewart attacked a large merchant ship, but due to cloud cover the results of his bombing were inconclusive. All the Wellingtons returned safely after shooting down one of four Bf 109s which tried to intercept them.

On December 18, flown this time by Squadron Leader Paul Harris, N2980 took part in the infamous 'Battle of Heligoland Bight', when twenty-two Wellingtons of Nos. 9, 37 and 149 Squadrons raided the port of Wilhelmshaven.The bomber formation was intercepted near Cuxhaven by a sizeable force of Bf 109s and 110s of JG1, JG26, JG77, JGr 101 and ZG76. Again the bombing results were obscured by cloud and as the raiders left the target the fighters fell on them. Ten Wellingtons were shot down, two others ditched on the way home and three were written-off after crash-landing at their bases. However, N2980 and its crew somehow survived. Squadron Leader Harris and his second pilot, Pilot Officer Innes, received DFCs, while their rear gunner, AC1 Mullineaux, received a hard-earned DFM — one of the first such awards of the war. The two .303 Browning machine guns in the turrets of the Wellingtons were no match for the heavier cannon armament of the German fighters, especially the formidable battery of nose guns carried by the Bf 110, which was in action against the RAF for the first time.

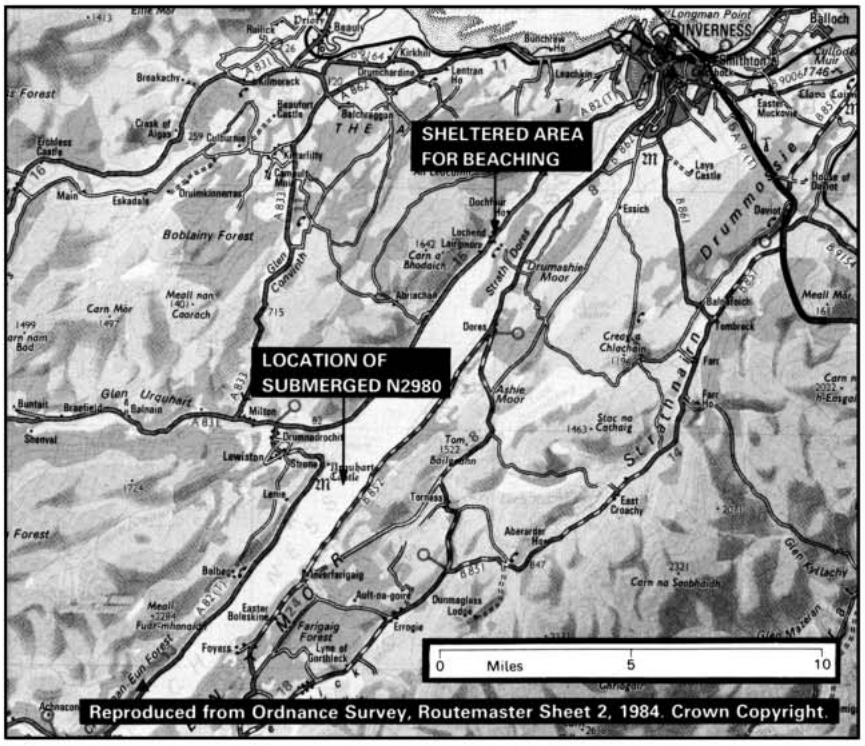
This battle showed the folly of sending unescorted bombers over Germany in daylight, and Bomber Command was compelled to switch to night attacks. N2980 took part in a further five operations with No. 149 Squadron before moving to No. 37 Squadron at Feltwell on May 30, 1940. After another seven raids, including two over the notorious railway marshalling yards at Hamm, the Wellington was passed to No. 20 Operational Training Unit at Lossiemouth in Scotland on October 6.

On December 31, 1940 N2980 took off on a navigation training flight carrying eight crew members. Some twenty minutes after take-off it flew into a bad snowstorm over the Monadliath mountains and the starboard engine stopped. Unable to maintain height and faced with a descent through cloud over high ground, the pilot, Squadron Leader Nigel Marwood-Elton, ordered his crew to bale out. Pilot Officer Lucton, Sergeants Chandler, Ford, Little and Wright all landed safely, but Sergeant Fensome had trouble with his parachute and was killed. His body was found the next morning.

The Wellington was still losing height. Squadron Leader Marwood-Elton spotted a stretch of water through a break in the clouds and successfully ditched the bomber in what turned out to be Loch Ness. He and his second pilot, Pilot Officer Slatter, boarded the aircraft's dinghy and paddled to the shore as the Wellington sank. They hitched a lift to Inverness on a passing lorry while their surviving crew members joined in the local Hogmanay celebrations!

THE DISCOVERY

In 1976 a group of American researchers hunting the Loch Ness monster with sonar equipment discovered the remains of what they took to be a PBY Catalina flying-boat at the bottom of the loch. Subsequent publicity led to a team of researchers from Heriot-Watt University taking underwater photographs of the aircraft in 1978. To their surprise it was not a Catalina but the remains of the Wellington in surprisingly good condition. In 1981 Heriot-Watt University carried out a survey of the aircraft using Sea Pup, a remotely controlled submersible. It was proposed that a larger submersible, ANGUS 002, be used in the recovery. However, further checks revealed that N2980 had begun to deteriorate, heavy damage having been inflicted to the fuselage spine by what was thought to have been a grappling hook. Clearly word of the aircraft's location had spread and unscrupulous souvenir hunters were likely to completely dismember it unless it was recovered soon. In 1984 the Loch Ness Wellington Association was formed with the object of rescuing N2980.



THE RECOVERY

During the war a fruitless attempt to salvage the Wellington had been made by means of a dredger. Although it lay deep, the pilot's choice of a ditching point was fortunate as the aircraft now lay some 230 feet down on a ledge close to a drop into a much deeper part of the loch.

Various companies were approached, among them British Aerospace who today occupy the former Vickers works at Weybridge. Mr Norman 'Spud' Boorer, who had worked with Barnes Wallis on the Wellington's design, was contacted and offered to design a lifting frame. However, samples of the aircraft's structure were needed to determine its strength. The available submersibles were unable to remove any pieces and by law commercial divers could not work at the required depth without a diving-bell — an expensive operation. Heriot-Watt University had received a contract from the Royal Navy to study the interaction between divers and submersibles, and knew that naval divers were allowed to dive to 75 metres without the use of a bell. With this in mind the University contacted the Experimental Diving Unit at HMS *Vernon*, suggesting that as the naval divers were shortly to undergo their annual 75-metre work-up, a combined exercise would benefit all concerned.

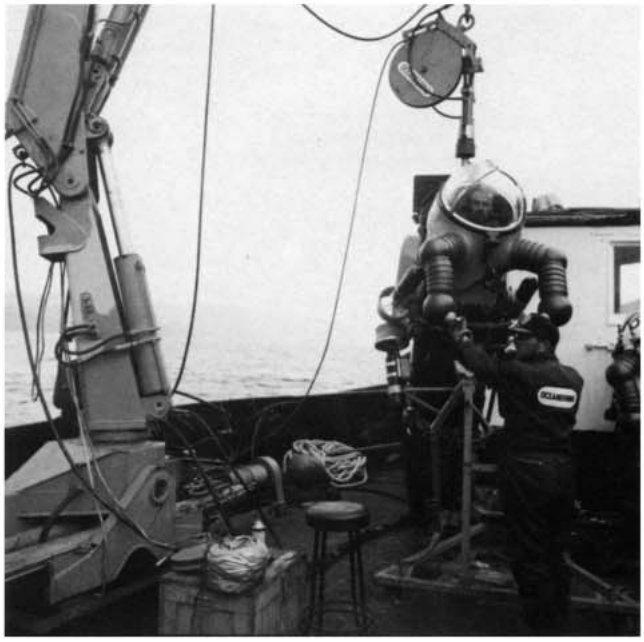
Equipped with various submersibles and aided by a diving support vessel, diving began again on September 27, 1984. It was found that unobstructed space under the wing centre-section was available, so allowing lifting slings to be passed under the main spar. Apart from the damaged fuselage the aircraft remained intact. The fuselage was not full of silt, as had been feared, for the loch bottom at this point was reasonably firm. The D/F loop and part of the geodetic structure were recovered, sprayed with WD40 and sent to Hugh Tyrer, British Aerospace's Chief Metallurgist. Analysis showed the metal to be in quite good condition.

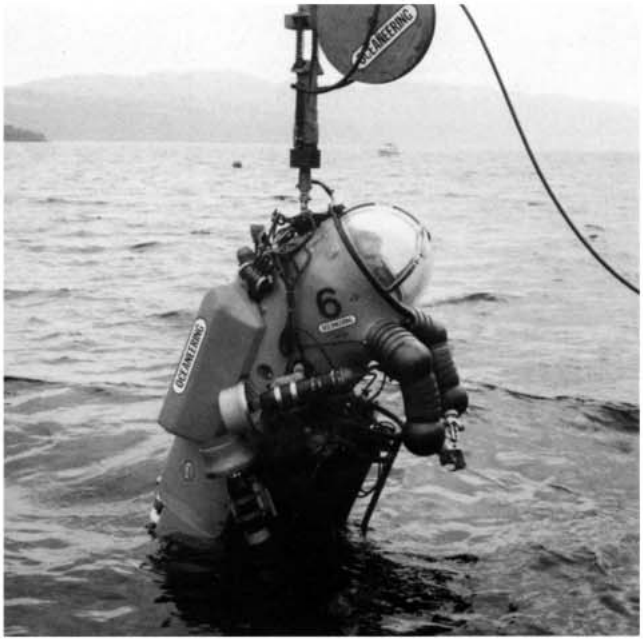
Armed with the samples and hours of video tape shot by the submersibles' cameras, the Association was confident that it had sufficient information to raise the Wellington. The Ministry of Defence made a gift of it to them and they were further assisted by a generous grant of £25,000 from the National Heritage Memorial Fund.

The lift, scheduled for Friday, September 13, 1985, was — perhaps not surprisingly in view of the date — delayed not only by bad

Members of the recovery team, including Norman 'Spud' Boorer standing on right, inspect a scale model of N2980 to determine just how to do the job.

After the first lightweight lifting frame constructed of aluminium failed during test, a modified version was built in steel and tested at Weybridge.





One of Oceaneering International Services' divers is prepared for a dive using the Atmospheric Diving System.

weather but also by the need to fit an aluminium supporting strut inside the aircraft to hold together what remained of the fuselage. A discarded net lying on the bottom had become entangled with the aircraft and further delayed the attachment of 'Spud' Boorer's lifting frame. On the Saturday the salvage was again delayed by choppy water.

The operation had by now become a big tourist attraction, with crowds of sightseers watching expectantly from the shore. The salvage team's headquarters had been set up in the Clansman Hotel, where a video show and a souvenir stall provided a method of sustaining interest and raising funds. There was a need to work fast, and 'Spud' Boorer was on hand throughout the operation, often getting no more than four hours' sleep a night. Doctor Bob Allwood of Heriot-Watt University's Institute of Offshore Engineering co-ordinated the recovery operation, bringing in the commercial expertise when required. Oceaneering International Services provided the underwater working capability in the form of an atmospheric diving system (ADS). The air bags to raise the frame and the aircraft were supplied by JW Automarine, who had recently raised the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*.

The initial lift of five metres, using a pair of air bags, was the most critical part. Provided all went well, the Wellington could then be lifted to ten metres by adding two more bags. This was tried, but on the night of Tuesday the 17th the aircraft and the lifting frame parted company for some unknown reason.

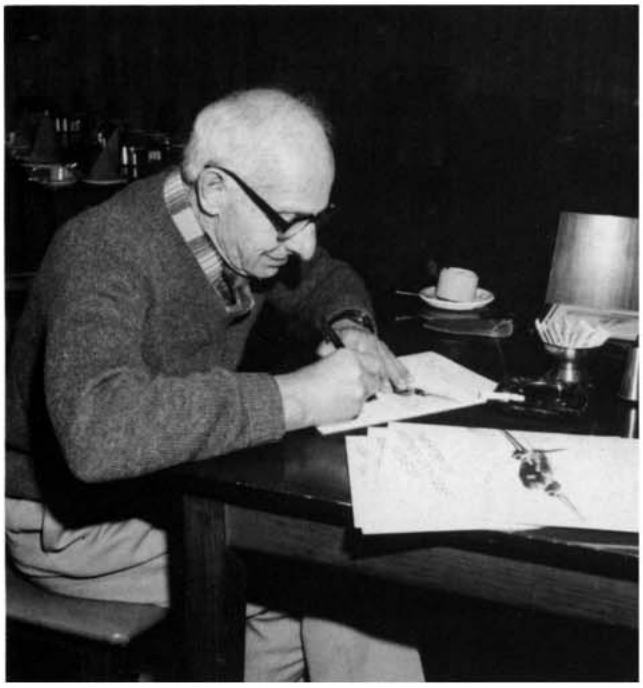
A survey on the Wednesday revealed that the aircraft had suffered little extra damage from the first lift and persuaded the salvage team to make a further recovery attempt. After a plea from Oceaneering, a new three-ton lifting frame, made overnight and painted white to assist the divers in the loch's murky depths, was made available by Cromarty Firth Engineering.

Finally on Saturday, September 21, N2980 came to the surface after nearly forty-five years beneath it. The centre-section of the fuselage and the wings were recovered first, the nose and tail having broken away. There was an ironic touch as the Wellington was lifted onto a barge at Lochend by a 60-ton crane manufactured by the Krupp factory at, of all places, Wilhelmshaven!

Mr Robin Holmes of the University spoke for the salvage team members when he said, 'I would not swop it for the Mona Lisa'. So did ADS supervisor Alfie Lyden, who described the operation as 'like trying to pick up a cobweb with a bulldozer'. The nose remained in the loch, but the tail unit was recovered on the 22nd. An impressive array of objects was recovered from inside the aircraft. These included over one thousand rounds of .303 ammunition from the fuselage and rear turret, a parachute, the crews' flying helmets, four sea markers and a camera still containing film. To prevent theft and further damage the Vintage Aircraft Flying Association mounted an overnight guard on the aircraft.

Safely loaded aboard the barge at Lochend after recovery on September 21, 1985. Mk 1 Wellingtons were fitted with Bristol

Pegasus XVIII engines with 1,050 hp giving a maximum speed of 245 mph. The weight loaded was 24,850 lb.



Seven of the crew survived the New Year's Eve crash yet four were to become casualties later in the war. Sergeant Cyril Chandler was killed over Germany with No. 9 Squadron in August 1941; Sergeant Edwin Ford, after being awarded the DFM, lost his life over Holland in May 1942; and Sergeant Raymond Little died the following month with No. 7 Squadron when his aircraft was brought down on June 26. Pilot Officer John Slatter, the co-pilot on the Wellington, went on to become a Flight Lieutenant but was killed in February 1944. He was actually flying N2980 when the engine began to malfunction. Squadron Leader Nigel Marwood-Elton *(above left)* **took over the controls but when the aircraft continued to lose height, he ordered the crew to bale out. Slatter reported that all had done so except Sergeant Fensome who was having trouble with his parachute.** *Above right:* **The fourth sergeant, Bill Wright at Weybridge with the radio he last used in 1940.**

THE CREW MEMBERS

Squadron Leader Marwood-Elton, who retired as a Group Captain and lives today in Cornwall, was present at the loch to watch his aircraft being recovered. The other surviving crew members, with the exceptions of Pilot Officer Lucton and Sergeant Wright, had all been killed on subsequent bombing operations. Pilot Officer Lucton was not traced, but Sergeant William Wright, who lives in Blackpool, later visited the aircraft at Weybridge and was reunited with the wireless set that he had last used on that fateful night in 1940. Clearly a lucky man, he had completed 52 operations, surviving the ditching of a Whitley two years later and spending three days in a dinghy 160 miles off Land's End before being rescued by the Polish destroyer *Slazak*. Other survivors of that period included Squadron Leader Harris, now also a retired Group Captain. For Group Captain Harris the recovery of his aircraft came just in time as he died at the age of 79 in December 1985.

THE HOMECOMING

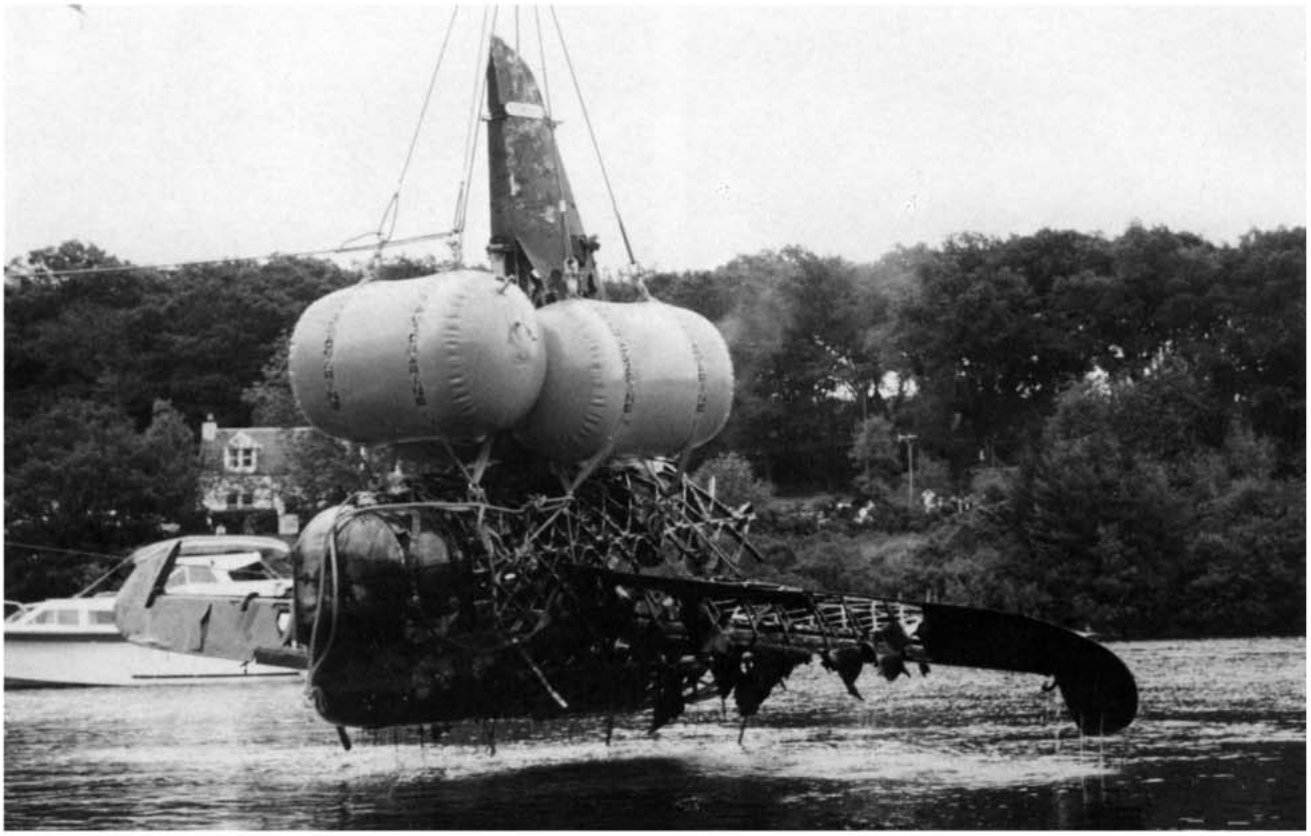
Although originally intended for an aircraft museum in Scotland, it was recognised that the most appropriate home for N2980 would be its birthplace at Weybridge, especially as the Brooklands Museum, covering not only aviation but also motor-racing activities there up to 1939, is now in the process of being set up.

The Wellington was transferred from its barge at Muirtown to three transport vehicles and arrived at Weybridge on Friday, September 27. At present it lies in pieces in the disused stratospheric chamber next door to the restored racing-track clubhouse, which the museum uses as its headquarters. It is indeed fitting that Mrs Morag Barton, the museum's project co-ordinator, now uses the office formerly occupied by Sir Barnes Wallis.

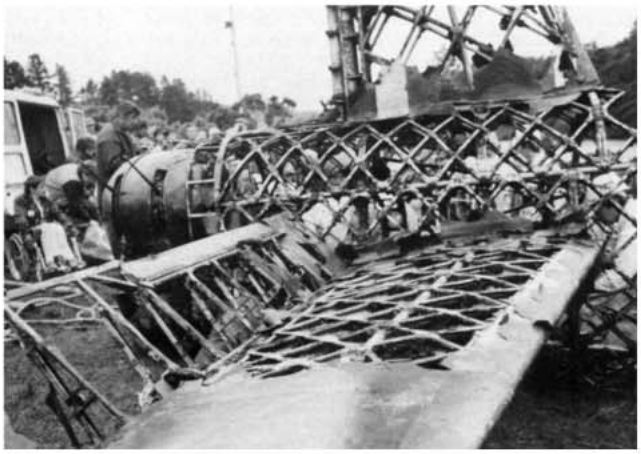
This aircraft recovery — one of the most difficult attempted — will no doubt be matched by the time and effort needed to restore N2980 to a presentable condition. It is hoped that the museum will open in 1987 and in the meantime much depends on the VAFA's volunteers, many of them taking a busman's holiday from their full-time jobs with British Aerospace. The museum is in need of further helpers, and anyone who has any experience of working with aircraft will be welcome, particularly if they can provide some of their own tools as well. Those interested are invited to contact Mrs Barton on Weybridge 57381.

I would like to thank Mrs Barton and Doctor Allwood for their help and constructive criticism during the preparation of this article, which has enabled me to avoid many of the mistakes made by the Press at the time! Now there is only one question left. What happened to the monster? That, as they say, is another story. . . .

Sergeant John Fensome aged 20 was training to be a wireless operator/air gunner with No. 4 Crew on No. 12 Course at No. 20 Operational Training Unit at Lossiemouth. He cleared the aircraft after the others but had pulled his ripcord too soon; it was not until the following morning that a search party found his body with a tangled parachute. His parents, Mr and Mrs Harold Fensome, decided to bring their son home to Luton in Bedfordshire and there they laid him to rest in a private family grave in the parish churchyard of Holy Trinity, Biscot.



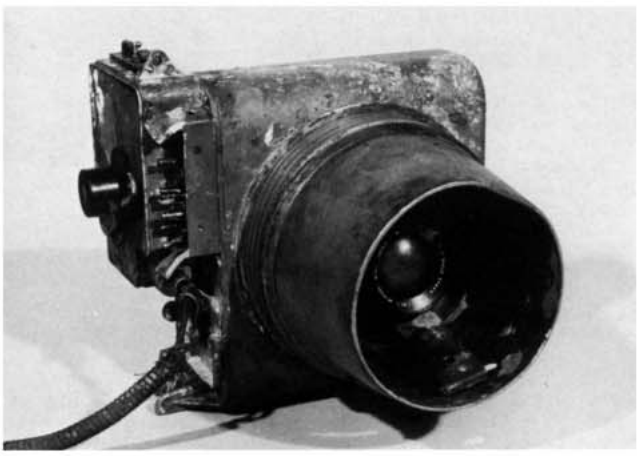
The tail section, which broke away from the main wreckage during the lift, was raised the following day.



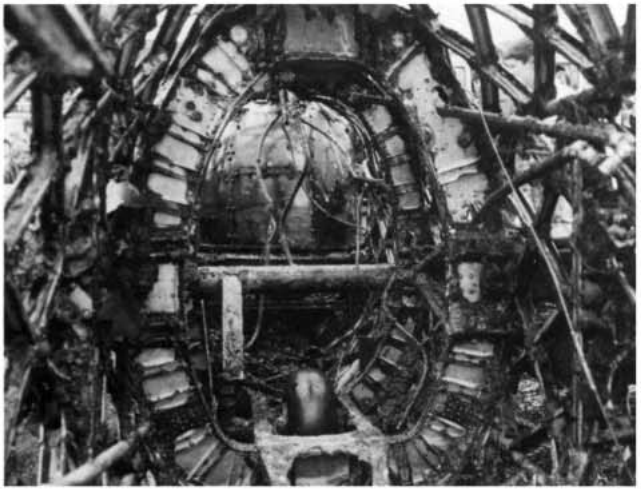
Safely on dry land, the turret attracts particular interest.

Where a pilot once battled to save his faltering machine.

Other items recovered included several B-type flying helmets (centre), a T1119 wireless transmitter and emergency kit.

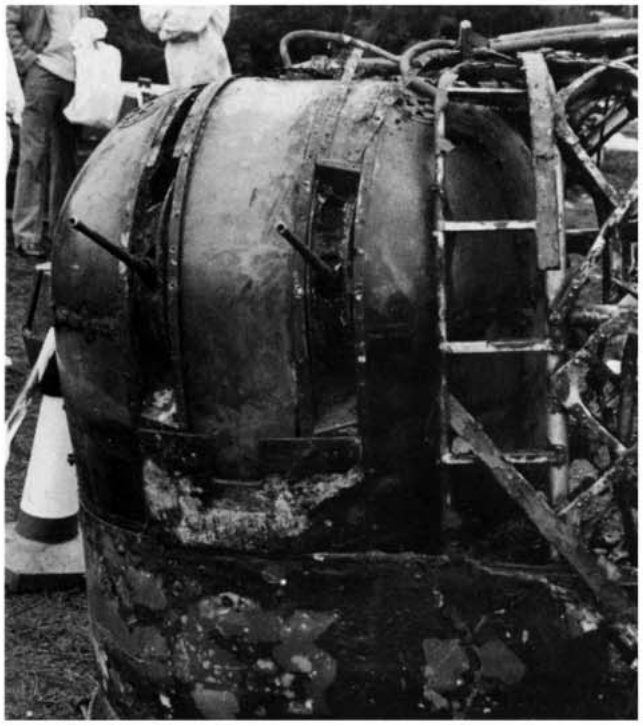


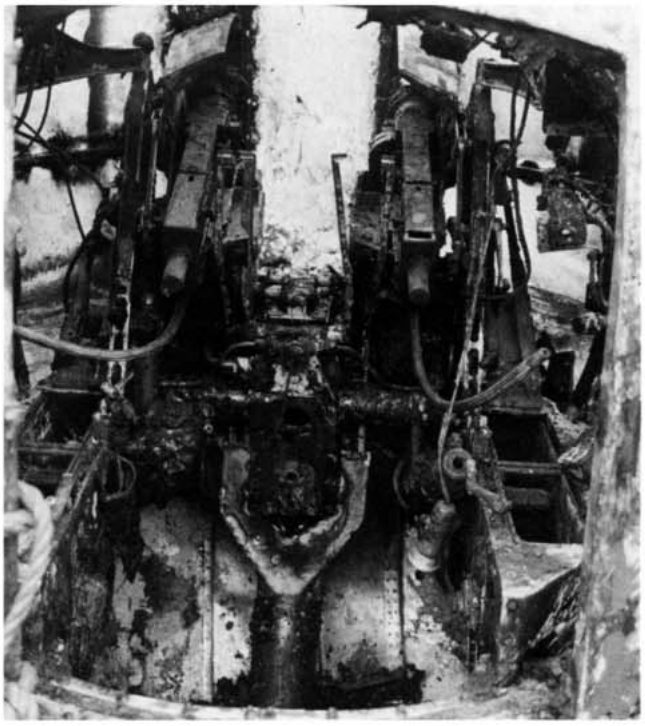
Williamson F.24 air camera complete with Ross wide angle lens. This version was hand-held.



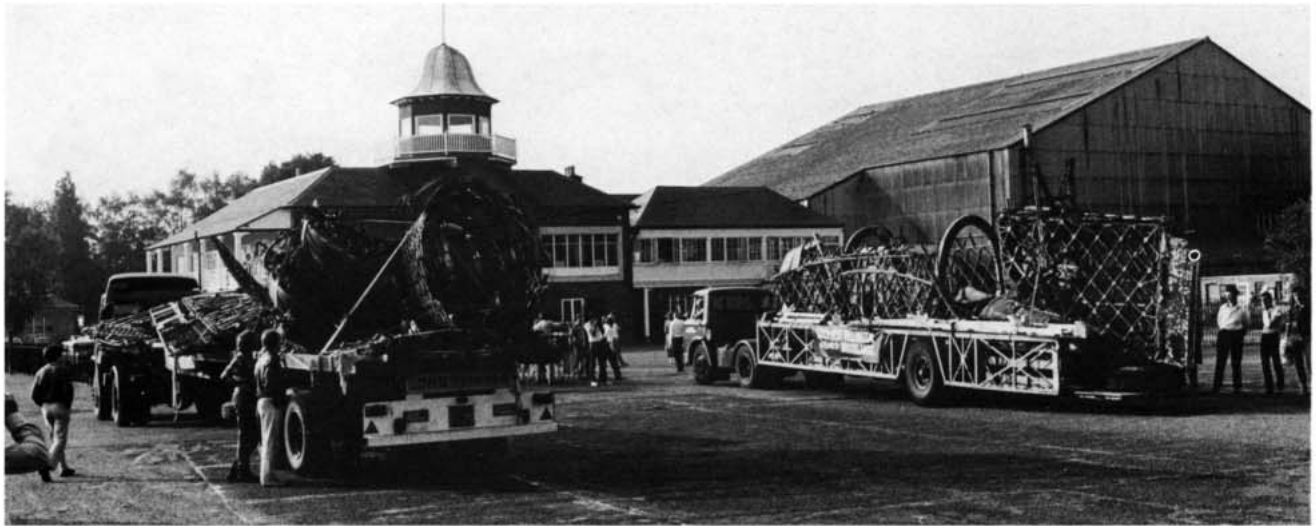
Tail section interior looking aft — note retracted tailwheel.

Two of the recovery team with some of the ammunition.





The turret, locked in the 'bale out' position, was retrieved complete with its twin Browning ·303 Mk II machine guns.



The remains of N2980 arrive back at Weybridge on September 27, 1985 nearly 46 years after she was born.

A COSTLY LIBERATION

BY JEAN PAUL PALLUD

Since the end of the Second World War organised armies have frequently found themselves at a loss in coping with guerrilla warfare and have been unable to prevent themselves from being out-manoeuvred to such an extent that they have ended up on the losing end, politically if not militarily. During the war, the German Army found itself in no way prepared to handle partisan activities, and in most of the occupied countries of Europe the Wehrmacht became locked in an inexorable spiral of violence.

The assassination of members of the German forces hardened the attitudes of the occupiers, and their reaction in turn increased the hostility of the occupied towards them. Reprisals produced the opposite effect to that intended, causing more people to espouse the partisan's cause than might otherwise have done so. Certainly, when it became clear after the Allied landings in the summer of 1944 that the tide had turned against the Germans, the number of people that gathered to see the occupiers off, to assist the Allied liberation armies, or simply to get their own back after having been intimidated for so long, assumed far greater proportions than ever before.

In this sort of situation, inevitably the Germans were prone to over-react at the slightest provocation, and with the escalation not only of partisan activities against 'legitimate' targets but of tit-for-tat killings, of outright vengeance, and of acts that were to some extent associated with a reassertion of national pride, steadily — sometimes senselessly — the deaths of occupier and occupied alike rose by the thousand during the final year of the war.

Following the German defeat in Normandy in the summer of 1944, by the time that Paris fell on August 25 (symbolically entered by the French 2ème Division Blindée, *see After the Battle No. 14*), the German armies

Hubertus Schürzeberg and an unnamed Gefreiter of Artillerie-Regiment 148 are led out of Provins prison by Resistance personnel on August 31, 1944. Walking on Schürzeberg's left is René Labeille. Jean Paul could not believe his eyes when he returned to the square to find the prison gate still standing although the building itself had been demolished to make a convenient car park!

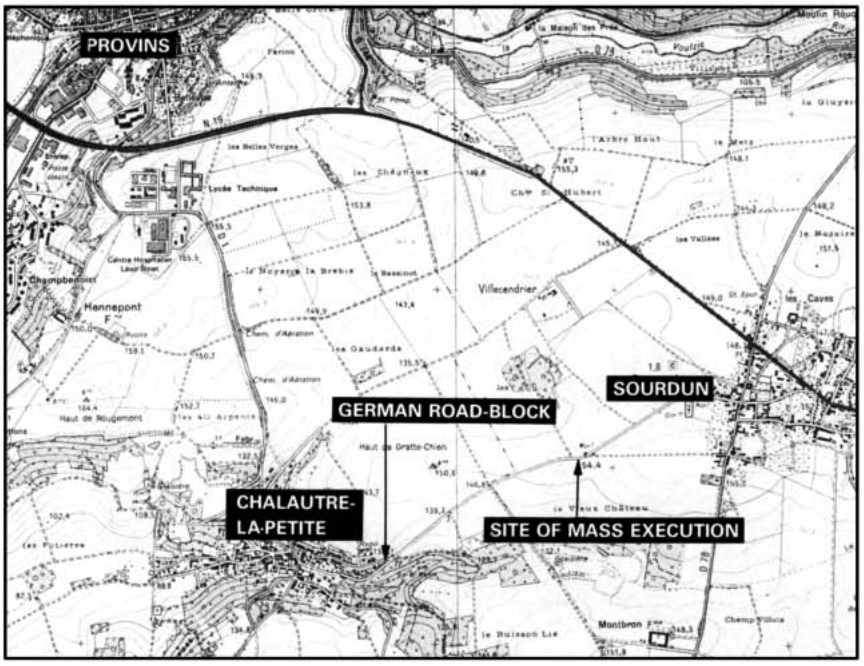
had begun a full scale withdrawal to the north of the Seine, a move which was to end up in their pulling back right across France with the Allies close behind. Two days after Paris was liberated, about fifty-three miles south-east of the capital, troops of the American 5th Infantry Division entered the town of Provins. Just three miles to the south lay the village of Chalautre-la-Petite. . .

For several days German troops withdrawing eastwards had passed through Chalautre. They were obviously in a bad way and the villagers could see that liberation was imminent. On the morning of August 27 further groups passed through, immensely tired, unshaved and dirty, having probably neither eaten nor slept for days, yet stubbornly carrying their weapons and ammunition on bicycles and prams as they pulled back eastwards. During the afternoon their numbers dropped sharply and some fifty men then established a rearguard at a crossroads on the eastern edge of the village, preparing to stop the oncoming American vanguards to gain some respite for the withdrawal.

The whole saga of Chalautre-la-Petite began when an American reconnaissance patrol, two soldiers in a jeep, reached the undefended western side, the two GIs cautiously entering the village to reconnoitre the German positions. It was about 5.00 p.m. They were chatting near their jeep with some locals when a German patrol, two soldiers on bicycles, rode into the village to check for any stragglers. The Germans were surprised and taken prisoner within seconds. Having disarmed them, the two Americans decided to scout ahead for a hundred yards or so on foot and, leaving the two prisoners in the keeping of two young locals to whom they had lent a pistol without having taken care to explain how it worked, they set off. After a few minutes, the Germans took advantage of their young and inexperienced captors and managed to escape unscathed, presumably returning to their unit a few hundred yards away. The report they gave to their commander must have been jittery and unclear and undoubtedly made mention of 'terrorists' being in Chalautre. The two Americans quickly disappeared westwards, without much thought perhaps for the uncertain situation into which they had placed the villagers. This would have been of no consequence if their recce had been followed up by a platoon occupying the village, but this failed to materialise, possibly because of changing or confused orders. Those American troops that were then at Soisy-Bouy, a little more than a mile to the south-west, moved instead to Chalautre-la-Grande, leaving Chalautre-la-Petite in a no man's land for another two days.

Meanwhile, the German troops that were at the road-block on the eastern edge of Chalautre-la-Petite had withdrawn a few miles eastwards. It has not been possible to establish whether the German officer in charge reported the incident in the village to a 'police' unit, elements of an SS-Polizei regiment for example, or if he himself or his superior decided to avenge some comrades killed by the Resistance, but nevertheless someone decided to do something about Chalautre-la-Petite, which was 'obviously held by the partisans'.

It was about 6.00 p.m. when hurriedly organised patrols, each no more than a handful of men, allegedly SS by their collar patches, and wearing the shield and chain of the Feldgendarme, descended on the village, which then contained no more than 200 inhabitants, demanding the release at every house of any 'kamerad' who might be held there, and taking hostages. Alarmed by what had happened an hour earlier to their two comrades, the Germans seemed to believe that some of their missing had been either killed by partisans, or that in fact there were some being held prisoner in the village ready to be handed over to the Americans when they arrived.



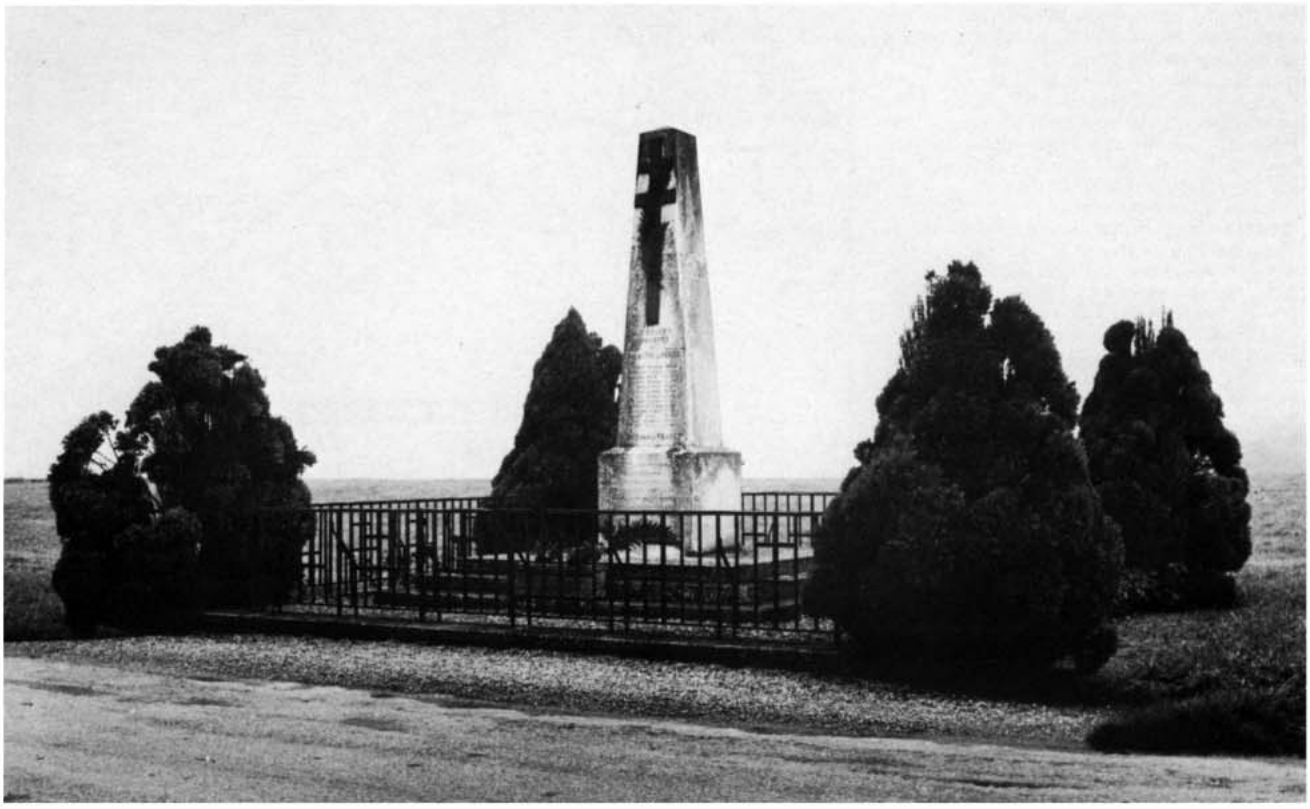
In spite of a sweep revealing neither 'kamerad' nor 'partisans' many of the village people were rounded up. Monsieur Albert François was thus preparing some mushrooms in front of his house when two Germans passed by and ordered him to 'Komm!' As he turned to obtain his personal papers from inside the house he was urged, 'Papier Non! Komm! Schnell!' Meanwhile another soldier was prodding and shoving the village beadle along the various streets. Beating his drum to summon the villagers' attention, the beadle passed on the order for them to gather on the village square. About a hundred people were soon assembled together and they saw several of their number, all male, marched away. The man who seemed to be in charge of the operation ordered the remainder to stay where they were before he left, leaving them under the watchful eye of a single guard behind a machine gun placed directly in front of them. Everyone felt sure that the men had been taken away to help the Germans in digging trenches or repairing bridges. Sixteen-year-old Bernard Gailliard escaped going with the 'working party', for when pushed towards the group by a German, instead he dodged child-like behind his mother and ended up with those who stayed behind. Today he is the local mayor and a valuable witness to the events of the day.

The twenty-two hostages, the youngest aged 16, were led eastwards in the direction of Sourdun. Among them was one of the two young locals who for a few minutes earlier in the afternoon had been one of the unsuccessful guards of the captured German patrol. It was just as darkness was falling that one of the hostages, Fernand Poirat, took the opportunity to escape at the edge of the village. The others were soon aware of their fate, as one of them, Monsieur Alfred Belliard, could understand German and he told them what the man in charge of their guards had replied when asked by one of the soldiers: 'What are we going to do with them?'

'These men are to be shot', came the answer.

It was now 9.00 p.m. and the group was suddenly ordered to line up in a field by the

Looking in the direction of Sourdun, this is the site of the German road-block on the eastern edge of Chalautre-le-Petite, and also the road down which the hostages were marched to their deaths.



'Morts pour La France.' Here the thirteen villagers were gunned down; a few days later exactly the same spot was used for the revenge killing of five German soldiers. Such were the tragedies which befell France in 1944.

road. Knowing the reason why, some decided to take a chance and make a break for it. Four men succeeded in getting away but seventeen tumbled to the ground under the hail of shots which followed. The executioners then proceeded to kick the fallen bodies to check that all were dead. Four in fact were still alive. Prosper Nuyttens and Jean Fontanel had been seriously wounded but they played for dead and managed to keep still when kicked, thus avoiding the coup de grâce. Marceau Durup had not been badly wounded and a shot was fired to finish him off, hitting him in the throat: the surge of blood was such that he too was taken for dead. The fourth, Felix Fontanel, an old man, had fallen to the ground when the body of his son Jean had been thrown against him by the impact of the bullets and he had fainted, thus escaping what followed. The survivors, most of whom suffered several bullet wounds, remained silent for nearly two hours, shivering from shock and pain.

Thirteen villagers had been killed, among them Monsieur Pierre Brumsteller, who had

The afternoon of August 31 and the funeral cortège for the French victims approaches the cemetery.

The price of liberation for one French village. On the right Monsieur Eugène François, whose son Alfred was one of the victims. Armed members of the Resistance salute as the tricolours are dipped as a mark of respect.

The first two 'suspects' are rounded up for summary execution in the corner of the village square. *Right:* **The unnamed Gefreiter (standing under the 'E' of 'Defense' on the sign) pleads his case whilst Schürzeberg, on his left, looks on abjectly. René Labeille, his escort, wearing white scarf and FFI armband, now stands with the firing squad at the right centre of the picture.**

been the first to try to escape and had thus drawn the fire of the entire squad. Raoul Desbrosse, Jean Tanneur, Marius Villiers and Monsieur Tillec had all manged to get away unscathed, but Pierre Brumsteller's death had been the price paid for their freedom.

Meanwhile a German had entered the village square, exchanged a few words with the guard, who then packed up his machine gun, whereupon both departed. Paralysed by fear, the villagers remained standing on the square for an hour until Raoul Desbrosse

arrived back there at about 9.30 p.m. and angrily demanded of them: 'What are you doing standing here when they have shot us all?'

The situation was confused and there were few volunteers willing to go out into the night and see for themselves. Five or so went across country while three took to the road. It was now pitch dark and they had difficulty in finding the bodies but on so doing they rushed back to the village to harness a cart to collect the dead and wounded. Because of the darkness they were unable to identify who were among the dead until they returned around midnight. The whole affair had happened so suddenly, and the villagers

Right: **Forty-one years later Jean Paul traced René Esquerre (in the black kepi on the left) who agreed to stand once again on the spot where he witnessed the execution in 1944.**

were so stunned, that for a time, a few hours for some but several days for others, they could not bring themselves to fully comprehend the fact that a beloved son, a husband, or a neighbour, was really no more and would never be seen again.

Word of the killings spread quickly throughout the locality, and, because of the fear and hate long engendered by the very name of the SS, they were immediately accused of the atrocity, though it seems that nobody had the slightest information about the unit actually responsible. The entire area was combed for any prisoners that might belong to the SS and a large number of German prisoners were soon assembled at Provins, most of them having been 'donated' by the American units which had held them captive.

It was a time when summary justice reigned supreme and two men were soon selected — by what criteria one cannot tell, but they were certainly not SS — to be executed at Chalautre-la-Petite. Monsieur René Esquerre, a member of the Resistance group at Provins, witnessed the execution on August 31 as the Adjutant of the Securité Militaire:

'When we arrived the Americans had already placed a camera in one corner of the village square, on top of a scaffolding which was used by the local firemen to dry their hoses. The two SS were brought in, surrounded by numerous guards, and marched in front of the firing squad composed of members of the Resistance, which was already waiting for them. They were made to stand in front of the wall. The eldest of the two was crying and claimed that he had something important to say. Unfortunately there was nobody there able to understand enough German and I had to drive back to Provins to find an interpreter. Mademoiselle Odette Canas came with me and we were able to converse with them. The youngest said he was married and had a child, and he claimed to be ready to die for his country. He asked not to be blindfolded so that he could face his death and insisted that his family be informed that he had died as a soldier and not as a traitor. This was an allusion to the other one, who asked not to be killed and promised to tell us who among the prisoners then held at Provins were the ones responsible for the massacre at Chalautre. This was accepted. After the execution of his comrade — who died standing to attention at about 11.45 a.m.— he was brought back to Provins towards midday. Next day all the Germans held in the town were lined up in the yard of the Quartier Montereau, a former barracks, and walked in front of the informant who was standing at a window on the first floor, his face hidden by a hood. Nodding his head he pointed out the men who had participated in the killing. The SS had removed their badges and some of them had exchanged their own uniforms for the less conspicious ones of artillery men. Thirteen SS were thus found among our eighty prisoners.'

Schürzeberg is filmed by US Army photographer Sergeant Graham.

The German executed at Chalautre-la-Petite, Hubertus Schürzeberg, was buried in the village cemetery, a few yards from the graves of the villagers killed four days earlier. A parody of a trial was soon organised in the yard of Chalautre-la-Petite school, and the inhabitants of the village were asked if they could recognise any of the soldiers responsible for the massacre from among those brought before them. Since soldiers in uniform look very much alike to most people, identification was difficult, and the villagers, including relatives of the victims, were somewhat hesitant in picking out with certainty someone to be accused of the murder. But 'justice' had to be done, and several of the accused were soon recognised as guilty, this resulting in vehement efforts on their part to explain that they had nothing to do with the killings. Ironically, among them was the informant, who only a few hours before had gained a stay of execution, shouting that he had been tricked, and also a very young soldier, weeping and repeating that he had not been there. These exhortations did not change the decision of the men who had chosen to set themselves up in

Two of the Germans subsequently selected being led across Place Honoré de Balzac towards the prison (a few yards to the right) at Provins, escorted by René Bardoit, Armand Esquerre and René Esquerre (obscured by the first German).

judgement. The condemned, five men, were allowed to write a last letter to their families — some of them doing so, others not — and immediately afterwards they were marched away to be executed at the exact spot where the villagers had been shot on August 27.

For this final act there were only about twenty spectators: far from demanding vengeance many Chalautre people considered this sort of retribution to be meaningless. It was about midday. The firing squad had ten rifles with which to execute the five, and the shooting was bad — most were only wounded by the volley and were still conscious when the person in charge of the execution had the wretched task of finishing them off. The five Germans were buried in the Sourdun cemetery.

During the author's visit to Chalautre-la-Petite, it was possible to trace the identity of the soldier executed in the village from the register in the town hall. The entry reads: 'On the August 31, 1944, at 11.45 a.m., Hubertus Schürzeberg died on the village square. Born on December 25, 1916, at Huffun, he lived in Braunschweig. A Wachmeister in the German Army he bore an identity disc with the number 1-A-R-67-134.'

Additional research in Germany revealed that Schürzeberg was not in the SS, but a Wachtmeister, i.e. a Sergeant, with the 9. Batterie of Artillerie-Regiment 148 of 48. Infanterie-Division. He was not an SS trooper who had 'exchanged his uniform for the less conspicious one of the artillery'; he really was a gunner. Two other members of the same unit, Unteroffizier Ferdinand Leonhardi (born on June 14, 1900 in New York!) and Otto Thieffelder, are recorded as casualties in the Provins area later in October although both are recorded as dying in captivity!

In view of all the uncertainty in the Provins area in the late summer of 1944, as events almost tumbled over one another in rapid succession, it does not seem unreasonable to cast doubt on the identification parade. Either the unnamed German and Schürzeberg were among those responsible for the killings, which is highly unlikely in the latter's case, for Artillerie-Regiment 148 was by no stretch of the imagination an SS unit, or, far more likely, the unnamed man likewise had nothing whatever to do with what took place and was simply trying to save his own life by randomly 'identifying' a few soldiers as SS. If so, the unfortunate man forfeited his life anyway

The inauguration of the first memorial at the execution site. Flanked by grieving relatives, stand four of those who survived: Prosper Nuyttens and Jean Fontanel (to the left of the cross), and Marceau Durup and Marius Villiers with the wreath.

Although indicative of a time when life was cheap, what all these killings amount to is a sad story of the senseless loss of another nineteen lives: thirteen French villagers killed for no real reason, and six German soldiers shot in retaliation for a crime of which they were almost certainly innocent. It would seem that most of the people of Chalautre-la-Petite, except perhaps for some of those most directly affected by the killings, have never been enamoured with the 'justice' meted out on their behalf some forty or so years ago. Nowadays the executions are for the most part regarded as merely having added another half-dozen lives to a list of innocent victims that was already thirteen too long.

The people of Chalautre themselves had taken no direct or active part in the process of selection and sentencing, this being the contribution of a number of 'outsiders'; it even having been said that the most active 'resistants' at Chalautre-la-Petite in the late summer of 1944 were those strictly of an eleventh-hour variety.

In the village a moving and simple ceremony continues to be held each year at 9.00 p.m. on August 27 in remembrance of the thirteen: a silent crowd making their way along the victims' last walk from the village square to the field in which a memorial has now been erected, though with the passage of time, many of the immediate relatives have died and the crowds are thinner today than in the days past.

In the early sixties the German dead at Sourdun were exhumed and, together with the remains of Hubertus Schürzeberg, borne away sixty miles to the north to the huge German war cemetery then under construction at Fort-de-Malmaison, north-east of Soissons, constructed to concentrate the German dead from the Aisne, Loiret, Seine, Marne, Oise, Yonne and Aube departments.

So it was that a beautiful spring morning in 1985 found us walking along the rows of black iron crosses — 11,000 of them. Every grave had its own story to tell but many will never be known, the facts lost to history as the occupants moulder to dust. Yet our search was for one in particular . . . for a man unlucky enough to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. At last we stopped, but to the uninitiated the simple inscription gave no clue — just a name, rank and date: Hubertus Schürzeberg, WM, 25.12.16–31.8.44.